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REVIEW OF WATSON'S BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL
DICTIONARY.

A Biblical and Theological Dictionary: Explanatory of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Jews, and neighboring Nations. With an Account of the remarkable Places and Persons mentioned in sacred Scripture; an Exposition of the principal Doctrines of Christianity; and Notices of Jewish and Christian Sects and Heresies. By Richard Watson. Illustrated by Maps engraved expressly for the Work.

As the work placed at the head of this article has just issued from our press, we present to our readers the following review of it from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. In this first American edition, there are a few notes added, and the quotations from the original languages left untranslated by the author, are rendered into English, and included in brackets.

Mr. Watson has evidently supplied what had long been a desideratum in the department of Biblical and theological literature, in furnishing to the Christian community this valuable Dictionary; and we hope its circulation among us will be as extensive as its high character deserves.

‘The books which constitute the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are well known to have been written by persons existing in ages very remote from each other, and placed under different and peculiar circumstances. They were composed in languages which have long ceased to be vernacular; they contain allusions to manners and customs greatly differing from those with which the western nations of Europe are familiar; and relate to cities and nations, some of which have ceased to exist, and to facts which occurred in times of the remotest antiquity. The doctrines which they disclose are of the utmost importance, and of universal interest and concern. These books were all written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and supply the only satisfactory answer ever given to that most momentous of all inquiries, “What must I do to be saved?” That they contain things which are “hard to be understood,” every reflecting person must admit; and effectually to elucidate their peculiar phraseology, the customs to which they refer, their chronology, geography, the facts which they record, and the truths which they reveal, requires

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the application of universal learning, and is sufficient to occupy the deepest attention of the most accomplished scholars from age to age. To have a thorough knowledge of the Bible is one of the most valuable of all acquirements; and the assistance to be derived from the pious labors of learned men, in order to this end, will be highly appreciated by every intelligent Christian.

In the latter ages of the Jewish commonwealth, not only were the writings of Moses and the prophets ill understood; but their meaning was so far perverted as to "make the word of God of none effect." Divine truth was deprived of all its efficacy by the corrupt glosses of the men who "sat in Moses' seat;" and these incompetent guides, who caused the people to err, were censured with terrible severity by the Son of God, who not unfrequently exposed and confounded them in the presence of their disciples and admirers. One of the principal objects to which his attention was directed after his resurrection from the dead, was that of inculcating upon his apostles right views as to the import of the Old Testament; and the light which he cast upon those sacred books, and the holy influence which attended his instructions, were such, that the "hearts" of the men who were thus favored, according to their own acknowledgment, actually "burned" within them while he spoke. The substance of the expositions which he then delivered are doubtless embodied in the discourses which were addressed to Jewish congregations by the apostolic band, and which are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

With the principles of Biblical criticism the Christian fathers, the immediate successors of the apostles, were very imperfectly acquainted. As interpreters of the word of God, though excelling in spirituality of mind, in active piety, and patient zeal, they were vastly inferior to many divines of modern times. Their works will ever be highly prized for the views which they give of primitive piety, of the doctrine and discipline of the ancient Church, and of the opposition with which the cause of Christ had in those times to contend, from outward persecution, and the perverse speculations of its friends; nor will they be less prized for the specimens of sacred eloquence which several of them contain;—but the student resorts in vain to the writings of those venerable men, even the most eminent of them, for full and correct interpretations of Holy Writ. That Jerom, Origen, Augustine, and Chrysostom devoted much time to the study of the Scriptures, is well known; and that, in many respects, they rendered valuable service to the cause of Biblical literature, is freely conceded; but their general ignorance of the original languages of the Old Testament, and their allegorical method of applying Scripture, render their comments upon particular passages far less satisfactory than many persons, unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances in which those holy men were placed, would have anticipated.

During what are emphatically denominated "the dark ages," the Holy Scriptures were in a great measure neglected. The common people were generally ignorant of their contents; and a large proportion of the priesthood were as little read in the Bible as the besotted populace by whom they were surrounded. The attention of the few intelligent and well instructed men of those times was diverted from

the tracks of really useful knowledge, to metaphysical subtilties on the one hand, and to "old wives' fables" on the other. Yet the materials of useful information were still extant in the manuscripts, both of sacred and profane antiquity, which were carefully preserved in ecclesiastical libraries; and of these hidden treasures, some few choice spirits, happily brought into contact with them from age to age, would be found to avail themselves, for their own benefit, and that of the immediate circle in which they moved. Beyond the few illuminated circles thus formed, a cloud of darkness, thick and palpable as that of Egypt, rested both upon priest and people. The important truth which obtained currency in those times of superstition and ignorance, rather came out by accident, during the eager discussion of the trifling questions of the schoolmen, than was proposed distinctly and independently as valuable on its own account.

The Protestant Reformation, which speedily followed the providential discovery of the art of printing, formed a new era in the Church, scarcely less striking than that which took place when Judaism was superseded by Christianity. A mighty mass of intellect which had slumbered for ages was awakened into activity and vigor. Almost every system and opinion was subjected to the strictest scrutiny. The liberty of private judgment was claimed; and abundant outpourings of thought, through the medium of the press, were, as might be expected, among the first manifestations of the newly recovered mental freedom. The principal subject of attention was the inspired word. Protestants appealed to that word as the only unerring standard of truth; and the learned among them were anxious to give the common people an opportunity of judging concerning the points at issue between them and their Romish antagonists. Translations of the Scriptures, therefore, were published in the principal European languages; every man was invited to study the records of his own salvation; and most laudable exertions were made to enable Christians in general to ascertain the meaning of the sacred books. Luther, Melancthon, Tindal, Calvin, Bucer, Castellio, Martyr, Cranmer, Hooper, Bale, Latimer, and many others, labored diligently in this holy vocation. Summaries of evangelical doctrine and duty, under the name of *Loci Communes*, were multiplied; commentators, critics, theologues followed in the train of translators; and every attempt was made to enlighten the public mind on the all-important subject of revealed religion. A desire to illustrate the peculiar phraseology of Scripture led to the study of various oriental languages and dialects; and the Buxtorfs, and our own Lightfoot and Pococke, have, by their profound rabbinical learning, placed in a just and striking light many important texts which had never before been adequately understood.

It is remarkable, that during the civil troubles which agitated this country, such princely efforts were made to promote the cause of Biblical literature, as have scarcely been equalled in any other age of our history; and made by men who were publicly discountenanced, and many of whom had suffered the loss of all their earthly property. It was during the commonwealth that a few of the Episcopal clergy, with Dr. Brian Walton at their head, produced the London Polyglott Bible, in six folio volumes. This truly national work was followed

by the *Critici Sacri*, in nine volumes of the same size ; by Castell's *Heptaglott Lexicon*, in two volumes ; and the *Synopsis Criticorum* of the learned nonconformist Pool, in five volumes more. These immense works display a zeal and a diligence for the promotion of sacred learning which cannot be too greatly admired and commended.

Protestant Germany has produced a large number of Biblical critics and commentators, of extraordinary erudition and research ; but many of these, especially within the last half century, have treated the Holy Scriptures with a levity and profaneness, in comparison of which the unhallowed lucubrations of Priestley and Belsham might almost be denominated orthodox Christianity. Infidelity never appeared in more revolting forms than in some of the works which have been published by German *divines*.

With much that is exceptionable, the Biblical and theological literature of England, for sound learning and sentiment, is unequalled by that of any other nation whatever. No excuse, therefore, can be offered for those ministers among us whose knowledge of theology is superficial, surrounded as they are by volumes "the very dust of which is gold." Independent of professed commentaries upon the whole or part of the sacred books, many works exist among us which greatly facilitate the study of these holy records. About two hundred years ago, Godwin published his excellent tract on Jewish antiquities, under the quaint title of "Moses and Aaron ;" which has been adopted as a text book both by Carpzov and Dr. Jennings. Lewis' treatise on the same subject is still more comprehensive than any of the works of the three eminent men just specified ; and Bundy's translation of Pèrè Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus* treats not only of Jewish antiquities, but also of the natural history of Scripture, and of various versions and editions. Dr. Wells wrote, with great ability, on the geography of Scripture ; and Mr. Mansford and Dr. Paxton have embodied what is valuable in him, and in other writers on that subject, in their respective publications : the former in his "Scripture Gazetteer ;" and the latter, in his "Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures." On the chronology of the Bible, Archbishop Usher, Messrs. Bedford, Jackson, Blair, and Dr. Hales, have written with great judgment and learning. The work of Dr. Hales displays immense research, throws great light upon many obscure passages of the Bible, and may justly be considered a standard work on sacred chronology. Maundrell's "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," published considerably more than a hundred years ago, suggests the identity of many modern customs in the east with those of ancient times referred to by the inspired writers ; and the beautiful and interesting light in which he placed many texts of Scripture seems to have led Doctors Shaw and Pococke to pursue the subject in their erudite and valuable Travels ; which are among the most elaborate and excellent books of the kind ever written. More recent travellers have followed the example of these eminent men, and have afforded important assistance to the Biblical student. Among these, Doctors Chandler and E. D. Clarke have been the most distinguished. Somewhat more than half a century ago, the ingenious Mr. Harmer began to collect all the passages contained in the narratives of oriental travellers, whether relating to manners and customs,

or to natural objects, that could be applied to the successful elucidation of the Bible; and the result was, the publication of his incomparable "Observations on divers Passages of Scripture," in four volumes. Mr. Burder and the editor of Calmet have successfully followed his example. Works of this kind supply an unanswerable argument in favor of the general truth of Scripture, in addition to the light which they reflect upon difficult and obscure texts. Mr. Horne's "Introduction to the critical Study of the Holy Scriptures" is an elaborate and incomparable digest of various publications, foreign and domestic, bearing upon this subject.

On the natural history of the Bible many books have been written. The most learned and elaborate are those of Bochart and Scheuchzer, neither of which has ever appeared in an English dress. Those of Dr. Harris and Mr. Carpenter are well known and justly esteemed, especially the former, which is a work of great research.

To what extent Biblical literature is cultivated in Scotland, we know not; but it is a remarkable fact, that the Scottish Church has never produced an entire commentary on the sacred books: for the work of Brown cannot lay claim to that title. It is pious and edifying; but is destitute of all pretensions to learning and criticism; and was never designed to give satisfaction to the student on points of difficulty. Doctors Campbell and Macknight are the only divines belonging to the Church of Scotland that have been distinguished as Biblical critics and commentators. The merit of each was of a high order; although Macknight is not entitled to unqualified commendation. As a critic he has seldom been equalled; but on some doctrinal subjects he is an unsafe guide.

It is pleasing to witness the assiduity with which sacred literature is cultivated by a few excellent men in America. Within the last few years they have published several elementary works adapted to the use of the Biblical and theological student. Few of these, indeed, are original compositions; but they are translated and abridged with great judgment from European writers, especially those of Germany. The principal of these works which have come under our notice are, "The Elements of Biblical Theology," from Flatt and Storr; Winer's "Greek Grammar of the New Testament;" Stuart's "Hebrew Grammar;" Robinson's translation of Wahl's "Greek Lexicon;" Upham's translation of Jahn's "Biblical Archæology;" Stuart's translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with valuable prolegomena and notes; and Harris' "Natural History of the Bible." Some of these works have been reprinted in England; and all of them are justly entitled to that distinction.

No elementary works are of greater utility to the student than dictionaries. They are applied equally to the elucidation of words and things; and have been extensively in requisition ever since the revival of learning in Europe. One of the earliest works of this kind that have fallen in our way is, "*Etymologicum Latinum, opus ex probatissimis Philologis, Philosophis, Historiographis, Poetis, et aliis Scripttoribus diversis in unum corpus collectum, antiqui datibus et animadversionibus passim respersum, vocabulis insuper eis quæ transierunt ex linguis sacris in jus Latinitatis locupletatum.* Francforti, 1605."

"Latin Etymology: a Compilation selected from the most approved Philologists, Philosophers, Historians, Poets, and other writers, in which will be found various criticisms and quotations from ancient writers, and which is moreover enriched with all the terms that have been transferred from the languages of Holy Writ into the Latin language. By John Funger, a Friezeland. Published at Francfort, in the Palthenian College, at the expense of John Rhodius. 1605." This is a book replete with important matter, philological, geographical, classical, and theological, capable itself of forming the nucleus of valuable works on all those subjects; and works of this description have doubtless furnished the idea, and much of the matter, for the classical and theological dictionaries which have subsequently seen the light, and attained in each succeeding age of the literary world to greater accuracy in design and perfection in execution. Leigh's "*Critica Sacra*," published in the times of the Commonwealth, has also much of this general character. Wilson's "Christian Dictionary," published early in the seventeenth century, and often reprinted, is a very copious and useful compilation; especially as enlarged by Simson. It was superseded by the more ample and learned work of Dom Augustine Calmet, a French Benedictine monk, and abbot of Lemones, published about the commencement of the eighteenth century, and entitled "A Dictionary of the Holy Bible." It appeared at first in two volumes folio, with which two more volumes were subsequently incorporated, having been published first under the title of a supplement. It will not be questioned, that this excellent publication, especially as enlarged and improved by the late Mr. Taylor, and which has been translated into Latin, Dutch, English, and several other languages, has been a principal source, to which all subsequent works of this description have been mainly indebted for the valuable matter which they have been instrumental in diffusing among theological students and the religious community at large.

Several things in Calmet's Dictionary have become obsolete; and, considering the geographical and other discoveries which have been made since the time of the author, many of its articles are very defective. Of the dictionaries of Brown, Buck, Jones, Robinson, and others of less note, it is not necessary particularly to speak. They all have their excellencies, and have been extensively useful. Some of them treat exclusively of Biblical subjects; others, only of theology; and those which unite both are too limited in their plan to admit of that discussion which many of the topics require; or they contain matter which many persons, with ourselves, deem objectionable. Dr. Robinson's work is copious in its details, and respectable in its execution; but what must be thought of the author's professions of fairness and candor after reading the following extract? "Assurance of reconciliation to God," says he, "is a doctrine held by the Methodists, by whom it is frequently termed the new birth. Without doubt a good man may be filled with hope, even a well founded hope, which will comfort and refresh his soul. But what shall we say, when we are told that a condemned criminal could rise from his knees, and eagerly exclaim, 'I am now ready to die; I know that Christ has taken away my sins, and that there is no more condemnation for me!' Such per-

sons, we are told, were originally either very wicked sinners or merely formal Christians, but that at some period, on a sudden, and generally in accidentally hearing some Methodist preacher, they were, in the language of the Methodist, 'convinced of sin,' or for sin; then, and not till then, they became sensible that Christ died for them. Upon this follow such influxes of Divine grace, called by them 'experiences,' that the man continues from thenceforth fully assured of his salvation: occasionally indeed certain doubtings and backslidings occur; but, upon the whole, there is a perseverance to the end in this blessed state." This mass of confusion and absurdity is given as a fair statement of the Methodist doctrine of assurance! It would be inconsistent with our present purpose to expose the ridiculous misrepresentations, arising either from ignorance or design, or most probably from a mixture of both, with which this one passage is replete. We shall content ourselves with observing, that its commencement and close are worthy of each other, and truly characteristic of the whole! That the Methodists identify *assurance* with the *new birth*, and that they conceive a certain perseverance in a state of grace to be a necessary consequent upon it, are monstrous mistakes; and one cannot divest one's self of surprise that so respectable a compiler should have fallen into them.

On the whole, it is evident that a Theological and Biblical Dictionary, fair in its statements, judicious in its selections, properly comprehensive in its scope, and emanating from a mind, rich in its acquaintance with the vast and ever-accumulating stores of knowledge, which criticism, history, and natural philosophy enclose in their wide domains, was still a desideratum in the religious world. And we feel much confidence in expressing our opinion, that the result of Mr. Watson's efforts for its supply, in the extensive, but compact, and not too unwieldy or diffuse compilation, now presented to the public, will be found possessed in an eminent degree of the qualities which we have specified, as justly called for by the enlightened spirit of the times in which we live. In this work, indeed, the theological inquirer will at once possess himself of a valuable mine of information on a vast variety of subjects intimately connected with the all-important object of his studies, and be materially assisted to acquire that quick and accurate perception, which will be his best guide in selecting a library for himself in future life. It is, indeed, a more complete body of divinity than are many works which have been published under that name.

In a work of this kind no one will expect to find the different articles to be strictly original; though in this a considerable number of them are so in whole, and a still greater in part. The preparation of such a manual consists principally in selection; and to accomplish this in the midst of such immense materials as are supplied by divines, lexicographers, critics, commentators, and travellers, of all ages and nations, is no easy task. It can only be successfully executed by a person of extensive reading, correct judgment, and very enlarged and comprehensive views. We have already adverted to some of the sources of information which Mr. Watson has explored; but to specify the whole of them would far exceed our limits. It will be observed that the plan of this work is more ample than that upon which publications of this

nature usually are formed. It is Biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical. On the topography of the Holy Land, many of its articles are particularly rich and interesting; and nearly all of those which relate to the distinguishing doctrines of revelation are copious and argumentative. The notices of the leading Jewish and Christian sects will be of considerable use to the student of ecclesiastical history. As a book of reference this Dictionary will doubtless obtain an extensive circulation among Christians in general; but to the Wesleyan connection it will be invaluable. It is the only work of the kind they have ever possessed; and will be found to embody all their peculiar tenets; while its tone and spirit toward every class of evangelical Christians are kind and friendly. To younger ministers of our connection, to the great body of local preachers, and to many private families and individuals, it will be of immense utility. The information which it contains is admirably condensed, while it is comprehensive and important. Nothing extraneous has been inserted. The maps by which it is enriched are neatly executed; and the volume altogether is one of the finest specimens of typography that ever issued from the Methodist press. The second edition of this Dictionary is already in a course of publication.'

LIFE AND TIMES OF ARMINIUS.

BY PROFESSOR STUART, OF ANDOVER.

IN the second number of the *Biblical Repository* for 1831, is an article under the above title, from which we propose to give some extracts. Before, however, the appearance of this article, '*The Works of James Arminius*,' in two volumes 8vo. by JAMES NICHOLS, were published in London, in which that eminent Reformer and able defender of the truth is exhibited in a true light, and vindicated from the foul aspersions which had been cast upon him by his adversaries. On comparing the extracts from Professor Stuart with the full and copious dissertations of Arminius as furnished by Mr. Nichols, we are satisfied that the former has aimed to give a fair representation of the sentiments, and to do justice to the character and conduct of Arminius.

We prefer presenting to our readers the results of Professor Stuart's researches into the life and times of Arminius, first, because, being a professed Calvinist himself, he may be supposed to be free from any improper bias in favor of Arminius or of the system of doctrines which he so ably defended. Secondly, those who have heretofore ranked Arminianism among the heresies of the day, will hereby be more likely to be convinced of their error, and of the truth of what *we* have uniformly maintained, that our doctrine and Arminianism being identical, except in one point, it cannot be classed among the exceptionable dogmas of Pelagianism.

The following is Professor Stuart's historical account of Arminius:—

'James Arminius, (called in Latin, *Jacobus Arminius*, and in Dutch, *Jacob Hermanni* or *Van Harmine*,) was born in 1560, at Oudewater, a small but pleasant and thriving village in South Holland. While an infant his father died. It happened, however, at that time, that there was at Oudewater a priest by the name of Theodore Emilius,* who was distinguished for erudition and piety, and who had forsaken the Romish Church, and had emigrated from place to place, in order to avoid its persecution. Moved by compassion for the indigent condition of Arminius, he took him under his care, instructed him in the learned languages, and inculcated on him frequent lessons of practical piety. He became so interested in the distinguished talents and rapid improvement of his young pupil, that he continued his education until he was sufficiently advanced, or nearly so, in his studies, to be sent to a university. It appears, that some time before his death, Emilius had removed to Utrecht with his pupil; and there he died, leaving the young Arminius without any means of support. Soon after this event, however, the bereaved youth obtained a second patron in Rodolph Snell, a native of Holland, who had been obliged to quit Marburg, where he had resided, on account of the incursions of the Spaniards, and had recently come from Hesse. Snell was himself distinguished for a knowledge of the mathematics. He soon returned to Hesse, accompanied by his young pupil; but he had scarcely arrived there, before news came that the Spaniards had taken Oudewater, burnt it, and massacred all its inhabitants. Arminius, being exceedingly distressed at this news, set out immediately for his native place; and arriving there, he found it a heap of entire ruins, every house being burnt, and his mother, sister, brother, near relatives, and nearly all his fellow townsmen, murdered. He returned immediately to Hesse, performing the whole journey on foot. Here however he did not stay long. News reached him, that the university of Leyden had been founded by the prince of Orange. He soon set out once more for Holland, and betook himself to Rotterdam, which was then the asylum for such of the sufferers at Oudewater as survived, and also for many refugees from Amsterdam. Here Peter Bertius (the father of P. Bertius who wrote the funeral eulogy of Arminius) was persuaded to receive him into his own family; and he afterward sent him, with his son P. Bertius, to the university of Leyden. Here young Bertius was the constant companion of his studies and of his person. He describes Arminius as exceedingly devoted to literary pursuits. He cultivated much the study of poetry, mathematics, and philosophy, and became the ornament and example of the whole class of students to which he belonged. He was greatly beloved and extolled by his instructors. His principal instructor in theology here was Lambert Danaeus, who had taught theology at Geneva, and was distinguished for his knowledge of the Christian fathers and of the scholastic divines.

After remaining at Leyden about six years, the senate of Amsterdam, being moved by the peculiar reputation for brilliant talents and distinguished application which Arminius had acquired, sent him, in

* So Bertius, De Vitâ, etc. Schröckh writes *Petrus Emilius*; I know not on what authority.

1582, at their own expense, to Geneva, which was then regarded as the head quarters of the Reformed Calvinistic Churches. Here he enjoyed the instructions of the celebrated Beza, the friend and successor of Calvin, in the famous theological school at Geneva. But here he soon created a prejudice against himself, among the leading men in this school, on account of his enthusiastic attachment to the philosophy of Ramus, which he taught to his fellow students by private lectures, and which he boldly and zealously defended in public. The philosophy of Aristotle was at that time considered as the summit of perfection in this branch of science, not only at Geneva, but in all the schools and universities of Europe. The views of Ramus were opposed to this philosophy; and of course, Arminius, who appeared as a zealous and contentious advocate for the opinions of Ramus, (*magnâ contentione pro illâ contendebat*, says his friend Bertius,) could not expect to meet with the approbation of the instructors at Geneva. Accordingly, he was soon obliged to quit Geneva. He immediately repaired to Basle, where Jacob Grynaeus was a distinguished teacher. Here he won so much applause and admiration by his attainments and devotedness to study, that he was speedily offered a doctorate in theology by the theological faculty at Basle, he being at that time only twenty-two years of age. This, however, he declined; justly deeming himself too young to be made the subject of such an honor.

The commotion excited at Geneva, by his opposition to the philosophy of Aristotle, in his absence soon began to subside. In 1583 he returned to Geneva. His own feelings were now greatly moderated on the subject of Ramus' philosophy, and he appears to have lived in quietude, during his second residence at Geneva.

As a characteristic of the times in which Arminius lived and Beza taught, it may be proper to stop the course of our narration for a moment, to make a little inquiry about Ramus and his philosophy, to which Arminius was so strongly attached. Peter Ramus was born in 1515, at Vermandois in Picardy. He was in indigent circumstances; but, from his love of learning, he procured himself a place in the university of Navarre at Paris, first in the capacity of a servant, then of a scholar. When a candidate for his master's degree, he boldly attacked the philosophy of Aristotle, assuming as his *thesis*, that all which Aristotle had written was false. This made great disturbance. He was forbidden to teach; he was accused of sapping the foundations of religion; and his sentence of degradation was posted up in every street of Paris. Gradually all this died away; and in 1531 he was made royal professor of philosophy and eloquence in the university. All his difficulties, however, were renewed afresh, when he attempted, as he did, to make an innovation in the pronunciation of a Latin word, and taught the students to sound the *qu* in uttering *quisquis*, instead of saying, as before, *kiskis*. Matters ran so high that the court of justice was obliged to interfere; who decided, that every one might pronounce Latin as he judged best. Ramus soon after deserted the catholic religion, and was expelled from his professorship; but after a while he was restored to favor, then attacked by new injuries, and finally massacred, with a vast multitude of other Protestants, on the horrible St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572. His body was thrown out of a window,

his bowels torn out and scattered around the streets, and his corpse dragged by his Aristotelian adversaries, and thrown into the Seine. Philosophy, it would seem, has her bigots, as well as religion; and the dispute, moreover, about *quisquis*, is highly indicative of the pulse of the times, and worthy of those who believed that nothing remained to be done in philosophy since the days of Aristotle.

When or where Arminius became acquainted with the philosophy of Ramus, does not appear. But a mind so ardent and inquiring as his, could not fail to read every thing which came in his way. That he found difficulty in the philosophy of Aristotle, will not be put to the score of heresy in these times; at least it will not, in this country.— That he could find such difficulty, shows an inquiring, curious mind; perhaps some proneness to take pleasure in new things. Beza saw, as he thought, this characteristic of mind in him. He accordingly advertised one of Arminius' friends to warn him against it. "It is a thing," said this wise and experienced instructor, "which Satan often makes use of in order to mislead distinguished men. Do not engage in vain subtilties. If certain thoughts which are new, suggest themselves to your mind, do not approve them at once, without having thoroughly investigated them, whatever pleasure they may at first afford you. Calvin gave me this advice; I have followed it, and always found it exceedingly good."

Nothing could be more opportune, or more judicious and sound, than this advice. Had Arminius taken it as he should have done, and reduced it to practice, he would have never been the head of a party which is called by his name; and he would have avoided many a scandal and sorrow, and much disturbance to the Church of God.

It is to be deeply regretted, that all the ministers of religion have not put in practice such principles as Calvin and Beza have thus recommended. They do not stand in the way of any real improvement whatever, in the manner of representing or teaching religion; they only stand in the way of hasty and crude speculations being thrown out, before they are in any good measure examined or digested.

Grynaeus himself, pleased as he was with Arminius while at Basle, seems to have entertained views of his temperament like those of Beza. Philip Paraeus, in his life of David Paraeus, avers that Grynaeus *Arminium graviter admonuisse*, against his ardor and love of novelty.

I am indebted for these particulars to Bayle; for Bertius, the partial friend of Arminius, has wholly omitted them in his account of him. I cannot refrain from adding Bayle's own reflections; not only for their distinguished acuteness, but for their usefulness. "The cautions of Beza," says he, "are fitted to furnish reflections profitable to many persons, and quite necessary for some readers. Remember the maxim of St. Paul, *Knowledge puffeth up*; but be on your guard against another talent, which puffs up more still. A man of boundless memory and reading applauds himself for his knowledge, and becomes proud. But one applauds himself still more, and is still more proud, when he thinks himself to have invented a new method of explaining or treating any subject. One is not so apt to consider himself the father of a science which he has learned from books, as he is to regard himself as

the parent of some new explanation or doctrine which he has invented. It is for one's own inventions that a man cherishes the strongest partiality and affection ; here he finds the most captivating charms ; this is what dazzles him, and makes him lose sight of every thing else. It is a quicksand, of which the young, who are possessed of distinguished talents, cannot be too much admonished, nor too cautious to shun."

These sentiments are not the less true nor the less important, because they come from a man who is known to have been somewhat skeptical on the subject of religion. They are worthy of all approbation and good heed on the part of every man, engaged in the solemn and highly responsible office of teaching the principles of the Gospel.

Let us return to Arminius at Geneva. How long he remained here, during his second residence, is not well ascertained ; but as he came here in 1583, and went into Italy in 1586-7, it seems probable that his stay was three or more years.

He was attracted to Italy, by the philosophic fame of James Zabarella at Padua. Thither he went, attended by a young Hollander, his constant and friendly companion. After attending a course of lectures here, he travelled through Italy, visited Rome, then returned to Geneva for a short time, and soon after to Holland. While on his travels, he and his companion carried with them a Greek Testament and a Hebrew Psalter, which they did not fail daily to read, in their exercises of devotion. In 1587 Arminius returned to Holland ; and, on repairing to Amsterdam, he found that reports had been circulated there greatly to his disadvantage, respecting his favorable views of the Roman Catholic religion. Among other things, it was said that he had kissed the pope's feet ; that he was intimate with Jesuits ; that he was introduced to Cardinal Bellarmine ; and that he had renounced the Protestant religion. "All this was false," says Bertius, "for he never saw the pope, except as one of the crowd who gazed on him as he passed by, nor does the beast admit any except kings and princes to the honor of kissing his feet ; of the Jesuits he knew nothing ; Bellarmine he never saw ; and as to the Protestant religion, he has ever been ready to shed his blood in its defence." "Bertius is wrong," says Bayle, "in averring that the pope admits none to kiss his feet but kings and princes ; private individuals are sometimes admitted to this honor !"

The probability is, that Arminius had been a little profuse of compliments and politeness to the Italians, while he travelled in their country ; and it is also probable, that he had ventured to express his admiration of some things which he found in the consecrated land of classical study. This, in the view of some of his fellow Protestants, was "paying homage to the beast." They began *spargere voces ambiguas*, at first ; these, like Virgil's *Fama*, soon magnified ; every day's journey which they took, added new strength ; and by the time they reached Amsterdam, they had assumed the definite shape which has been stated above. It is thus that a little more than ordinary civility toward one's opponents, can be transformed by party zeal, and withal a little of jealousy or envy, into downright heresy.

The reflections of Bayle on this subject are so just and striking, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them. "Among the popular dis-

eases of the human mind, I know not whether any are more worthy of blame, or more productive of evil consequences, than the habit of giving a loose rein to suspicion. It is a very slippery road ; and one very soon finds himself at a great distance from the point where he set out. He passes easily from one suspicion to another. He begins with *possibility*, but does not stop there. He passes on to *probability* ; then to an almost *certainty*. In a short time, what was possible or probable, becomes matter of *incontestable* certainty ; and this certainty is spread over a whole town. Large cities are most of all exposed to this evil."

It may be true that large cities are more prolific in such offspring ; because the means of multiplying them are so much more facile and convenient. But human nature is every where substantially the same ; and one of the most conspicuous evidences of its degraded and sinful condition, is, its proneness to suspicion and detraction, and the gratification which it experiences in indulging or fostering this spirit.

Arminius found his *Mecaenases*, at Amsterdam, cold and suspicious when he first returned. He succeeded, however, in satisfying them entirely that he had been slandered. He soon received an invitation to a place as minister in one of the Churches at Amsterdam, over which he was installed in 1588, being then twenty-eight years of age. On his return from Italy, he had passed through Geneva, where Beza gave him a letter to his patrons, in which he speaks of him as "*animo ad faciendum officium optime comparatus, si Domino Deo placeret, ipsius uti ad opus suum in ecclesiâ suâ ministerio.*"

Arminius soon became exceedingly popular as a preacher at Amsterdam. His slender, but sweet and sonorous voice, his manner, his ardor, his distinguished talents and finished education, all combined to give him extensive popularity and influence. The rumors which had been set afloat concerning his inclination to become a Catholic, gradually died away, and all classes of men united in extolling his talents as a preacher and a pastor.

This season of popularity and peace, however, was soon in a measure interrupted, by an occurrence unforeseen, and altogether without design, on the part of Arminius. There lived, at Amsterdam, a man of distinguished talents and learning, by the name of Theodore Koornhert, who was strongly opposed to the doctrine of predestination as held at Geneva and in Holland, and who had written and spoken much against it. Two of the ministers at Delft, Arnold Cornelius and Renier Dunteklok had undertaken, by conference and by writing, to oppose Koornhert. In order to do this, however, as they thought to the best advantage, they had relinquished the views of Calvin and Beza in respect to the *decretum absolutum*, viz. the doctrine that the decree of election and reprobation preceded all respect to the fall of man, and to his obedience or disobedience. This is what has since been called *Supralapsarianism*. On the other hand, the ministers at Delft maintained, not only that God in his decree regarded man as created, but also that he had respect to his lapsed condition. This is what has since been called *Sublapsarianism*. It was the work which the Delft ministers published at this time, entitled *Answer to some*

Arguments of Calvin and Beza on the subject of Predestination, which first gave rise to these denominations in the Church of Christ.

Whether the ministers of Delft did not misunderstand the views of Calvin and Beza, it may be of some importance here briefly to show. Calvin says, "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he hath determined, in himself, what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being created for one or other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated either to life or to death." (*Institut. Lib. iii, c. 21. § 5.**) "In conformity with the clear doctrine of Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God hath once for all determined, both whom he would once for all admit to salvation, and whom again he would condemn to destruction." (*Ib. § 7.†*) "Now with respect to the reprobate . . . Esau, while yet unpolluted with any crime, is accounted an object of hatred. If we turn our attention to works, we insult the apostle, as though he saw not what is clear to us. Now that he saw none [i. e. no works] is evident, because he expressly asserts the one [Jacob] to have been elected, and the other [Esau] rejected, while *they had not yet distinguished any good or evil*, to prove the foundation of Divine predestination not to be in works. . . . The reprobate are raised up for this purpose, that the glory of God may be displayed by their means. . . . When God is said to harden, or show mercy to whom he pleases, men are taught by this declaration to seek no cause beside his will." (*Lib. iii, c. 22. § 11.‡*) "Let them [the wicked] not accuse God of injustice, if his eternal decree has destined them to death, to which they feel themselves, whatever be their desire or aversion, (*velint nolint*), spontaneously led forward by their own nature." (*Lib. iii, c. 23. § 3.§*) "But though I should a hundred times admit God to be the author of it, [the perverseness of the wicked,] which is perfectly correct, (*verissimum*), yet this does not abolish the guilt impressed on their consciences, and from time to time recurring to their view." (*Ibid. ||*) "All things being at God's disposal . . . he orders

* *Praedestinationem vocamus aeternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit, quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes; sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna praeordinatur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem praedestinatum dicimus.*

† *Quod ergo Scriptura clare ostendit, dicimus, aeterno et immutabili consilio Deum semel constituisse, quos olim semel assumere vellet in salutem, quos rursum exitio devovere.*

‡ *Nunc de reprobis . . . Esau, nullo adhuc scelere inquinatus, odio habetur. Si ad opera convertimus oculos, injuriam irrogamus apostolo, quasi id ipsum quod nobis perspicuum est non viderit. Porro non vidisse convincitur, quando hoc nominatim urget, *quum nihil dum boni aut mali designassent*, alterum electum, alterum rejectum; ut probet divinae praedestinationis fundamentum in operibus non esse . . . quod in hunc finem excitentur reprobi, ut Dei gloria per illos illustretur. . . . Quum enim Deus dicitur vel indurare, vel misericordia prosequi quem voluerit, eo admonentur homines nihil causae quaerere extra ejus voluntatem.*

§ *Ne ergo Deum iniquitatis insimulent, si aeterno ejus judicio morti destinati sint, ad quam a sua ipsorum naturâ sponte se perducere, velint nolint, ipsi sentiunt.*

|| *Atqui ut centies Deum auctorem confitear, quod verissimum est, non protinus tamen crimen eluunt, quod eorum conscientis insculptum subinde eorum oculis recurrit.*

all things by his counsel and decree in such a manner, that some men are born, devoted from the womb to certain death, that his name may be glorified in their destruction." (Ib. § 6.*)

As a more thorough-going passage still, in some respects, I quote once more from Lib. iii, c. 24. § 13. Calvin is commenting on the passage in Isa. vi, 9, 10, *Hear ye, indeed, but understand not*, etc. "Observe," says he, "that he [Jehovah] directs his voice to them, [the Jews;] but it is that they may become more deaf; he kindles a light, but it is that they may become more blind; he publishes his doctrine, but it is that they may be more besotted; he applies a remedy, but it is that they may not be healed. . . . Nor can it be disputed, that to such persons as God determines not to enlighten, he [God] delivers his doctrine in enigmatical obscurity, that its only effect may be, to increase their stupidity."†

These passages, all taken from the *Institutiones* of Calvin, a work that was published while he was yet a youth, could hardly be assumed as the certain index of his riper opinions, were it not that we find them confirmed in his *Commentary*, a work accomplished in his mature years. Let us then hear the same author, when commenting on Rom. ix, 18, *Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth*. "We must insist," says he, "on the words *whom he will*; beyond which we cannot go. As to the word *harden*, when this is used concerning God in the Scriptures, it means not only *permission*, (as some drivelling moderates would say,) but it also means the *action of Divine indignation*; for all external means which conduce to the blinding of the reprobate, are instruments of the Divine indignation. Yea, Satan himself, *who acts with efficiency internally*, is in such a sense his minister, that *he acts only under his control*, (*nonnisi ejus imperio agat*.) That pitiful subterfuge of the schoolmen, then, about foreknowledge, falls to the ground. Paul does not teach here that the ruin of the impious was *foreseen* by God, but that it was *ordained* by his will and counsel; in the same manner as Solomon teaches, not only that God foreknew the destruction of the impious, but that the impious were, by his decree, created in order that they might perish, Prov. xvi, 4."‡

Again, in commenting on Rom. ix, 10-13, he says, "Although

* Ecce, quum rerum omnium dispositio in manu Dei sit, quum penes ipsum resideat salutis ac mortis arbitrium, consilio nutuque suo ita ordinat, ut inter homines nascentur, ab utero certae morti devoti, qui suo exitio ipsius nomen glorificent.

† Ecce, vocem ad eos, dirigit, sed ut magis obsurdescant; lucem accendit, sed ut reddentur caeciores; doctrinam profert, sed qua magis obstupescant; remedium adhibet; sed ne sanetur. . . . Neque hoc quoque controversi potest, quos Deus illuminatos non vult, illis doctrinam suam aenigmatibus involutam tradere, ne quid inde proficiunt, nisi ut in majorem hebetudinem tradantur.

‡ Insistere enim debemus in istas particulas, *Cujus vult et quem vult*; ultra quas procedere nobis non permittit. Caeterum *indurandi* verbum, quum Deo in Scripturis tribuitur, non solum *permissionem*, (ut volunt diluti quidam moderatores,) sed divinae quoque irae actionem significat. Nam res omnes externae quae ad excaecationem reproborum faciunt, illius irae sunt instrumenta. Satan autem ipse, *qui intus efficaciter agit*, ita ejus est minister, *ut nonnisi ejus imperio agat*. Corruit ergo frivolum illud effugium, quod de praescientia Scholastici habent. Neque enim praevideri ruinam impiorum a Domino Paulus tradit, sed ejus consilio et voluntate ordinari. Quemadmodum et Salomo docet, non modo praecognitum fuisse interitum, sed impios ipsos fuisse destinato creatos ut perirent, Prov. xvi, 4.

Esau might have been justly rejected, on account of his *vitiosity* [original sin] . . . yet that no occasion of doubt may remain here, as if Esau's condition may have been any the worse on account of any fault or sin of his own, it was proper that both sins and virtues should be excluded. [He means virtues with respect to Jacob, and sins with respect to Esau] . . . God has, in his own will, just cause of election and reprobation."*

On Rom. ix, 17, *For this same purpose have I raised thee up*, viz. Pharaoh, Calvin says, "God declares that Pharaoh proceeds from him; that he has assigned him this part to act; and to this sentiment the words ἐξέγισπά σε well correspond. Moreover, lest any one should imagine that Pharaoh was impelled by a kind of general and indistinct impetus on the part of God, so that he might rush into that madness, the special cause or ground is here designated; as if it had been said, that God knew what Pharaoh was about to do, but of set purpose he had destined him to this very end."†

That Calvin, then, was a Supralapsarian, in the sense in which the Delft ministers understood him to be, seems, from these passages and many more to the same purpose which might easily be adduced, to admit of no historical doubt. The right or wrong of his opinions, is no part of my present business. I am now merely acting the part of a historian. By and by I shall make a few remarks, on the use and abuse of such passages as these, in Calvin and other Reformers. But for the present, I pass on to a brief notice of the allegation in respect to the *supralapsarian* sentiments of Beza.

This excellent scholar and able commentator, in his note on Rom. ix, 11, says, "Those who maintain that God has predestinated reprobates to eternal destruction, because he was influenced by any unbelief or sinful works which he foresaw in them, *magnopere profecto falluntur*. On this ground, one must draw the conclusion that the counsels of God have their ground in created things and in secondary causes, *quod non modo falsissimum, verum impium fuerit cogitare*." He then goes on to argue, that just the contrary of all this is true, viz. that things are as they are, because God, for reasons wholly within Himself, determined they should be so; He neither had respect to any faith or good works in the elect, nor to any unbelief or wicked works in the reprobate.

Again, Rom. ix, 17, Beza thus paraphrases: "Respondet de reprobis, sive quos Deus in odio habet nondum natos, et nullo indignitatis praeiudicio respectu, exitio destinavit; i. e. The apostle treats of the reprobate, whom God hates before they are born, and without any preceding respect to their unworthiness, has destined to destruction."

* Etsi sola vitiositas, quae diffusa est . . . ad damnationem sufficit, unde sequitur merito rejectum fuisse Esau . . . ne quis tamen maneat scrupulus, ac si ullius culpa aut vitii respectu deterior ejus conditio fuisset, non minus peccata quam virtutes excludi utile fuit. . . Deum in suo arbitrio satis justam eligendi et reprobandi habere causam.

† Deus Pharaonem a se profectum dicit, eique hanc impositam esse personam. Cui sententiae optime respondet *excitandi* verbum. Porro, ne quis imaginetur quodam universali et confuso motu divinitus actum fuisse Pharaonem, ut in illum furorem rueret, notatur specialis causa vel finis; ac si dictum essent, scivisse Deum quid facturum esset Pharaonem, sed datâ operâ in hunc usum destinasse.

These extracts will serve to show that the ministers of Delft did not misunderstand Calvin and Beza, in regard to their views concerning the decrees of God ; and that I have not misinterpreted their meaning in the explanation which I have given above. I have quoted from Calvin and Beza, neither for the sake of attack or defence ; but merely that the reader, may have a fair chance to know the ground on which he stands, while entering upon the history of the times of Arminius.

I return to my narration. The book of the Delft ministers, containing strictures on the Supralapsarianism of Calvin and Beza, was sent by its authors to Martin Lydius, then professor of theology at Franeker. He was dissatisfied with it ; but instead of undertaking to answer it himself, he solicited Arminius to do it, in order that he might defend his teacher Beza. This Arminius at first inclined to do ; but after a thorough perusal of the *Answer*, he suspended his purpose, as his mind had been filled, by the perusal of the book, with doubts or difficulties in regard to some positions of Beza and Calvin respecting the point in question.

These doubts were soon whispered abroad in Amsterdam, although Arminius did not himself proclaim them in public. Suspicions of defection from orthodoxy began to break out more openly against him, when, in 1591, he explained publicly the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and represented the latter part of it as describing the sinner under legal conviction ; in the same manner as Martin Bucer had before explained it, and all the fathers of the Church before the days of Augustine ; and in like manner, I may add, as nearly all commentators, whether evangelical or neological, have of late done. He was now accused of *Pelagianism* ; and the accusation became the more bitter, because Faustus Socinus had just published, under a fictitious name, the same view of the sentiments contained in this passage of Sacred Writ. He was cited before the synod on account of the exegesis in question, and had long disputes with many of his brethren. His lectures on Rom. vii. are published in his works. They exhibit much acuteness ; but it is nearly all employed in the way of the school logic, not in the way of philology.

These difficulties were augmented still more, when, in 1593, Arminius published his lectures on Rom. ix, in which he called in question the interpretation given by Calvin and Beza of this chapter, and labored to show that it was susceptible of another and more probable meaning. In his view, the object of the chapter is to show, that God in rejecting the Jews, who sought for salvation on the ground of their own merit and refused to accept of the terms of the Gospel, and in receiving the Gentiles into their place as the spiritual children of Abraham, not only did the Jews no wrong, but that his proceeding in this case was entirely analogous with many instances of the like nature, which are recounted in the Old Testament and mentioned in Rom. ix. Whether Arminius supposed this reception of the Gentiles into the place of the excluded Jews, to be one of merely an *external* nature, or whether it was truly *spiritual* and *effectual*, is not very explicitly stated by him ; at least I have not met with very explicit declarations. If the former only, then one might well ask, whether the great question in debate by the apostle, has any concern with the *mere externals* of religion ? If the latter, then

all the difficulties are in reality involved in his own opinion, which belong to that of his antagonists ; although the manner in which they have sometimes expressed themselves may be liable to serious objection.

At any rate, however, the exegesis of Arminius was much more specious and tolerable than that of his successor Episcopius, who, at an almost immeasurable length, has labored to show, that the predestination which Paul mentions in Rom. viii, 28, and on which he descants through chap. ix, is a predestination to *sufferings and sorrows*, which the Jewish converts were to expect, and not a predestination to *salvation*. Neither the strong commendations of this opinion by Schröckh (*Kirchengesch. seit der Reform. V. 285 seq.*) nor the more respectable opinion of J. A. Turretin (*Comm. on Rom. viii*) that this is one of the objects which Paul had in view, can support any just claim to its reception.

It is very natural to suppose, considering what the views of Calvin and Beza were respecting Rom. ix, and how extensively these were received among the reformed Churches, that such an interpretation by Arminius would occasion not a little commotion. This was the case. Disputes arose out of this, which greatly disturbed the peace and harmony of the Churches at Amsterdam and in its neighborhood, and were productive of no small evil.

In 1597 Arminius repaired to Leyden, for the sake of conferring with the celebrated F. Junius, who was then professor of theology there. The result of this was a long and amicable correspondence between them, on the subject of decrees, necessity, liberty, etc., which is published in the works of Arminius. Junius treated these subjects with mildness and great ability ; but he did not satisfy the scruples of his friend respecting them, who became, as it usually happens in such cases, still more confirmed in his own opinion.

There lived, at this time, a very popular and able minister of the Gospel at the Hague, by the name of Uytenbogat, who sympathized in sentiment and feelings with Arminius. To him Arminius wrote, beseeching him to assist in the examination of the difficult questions in which he was engaged. Uytenbogat, as appears by the sequel, entered warmly into his views.

In 1598, Arminius wrote his *Examen modestum Libelli Perkinsii*, i. e. of the treatise in defence of predestination, which the Englishman Perkins had published under the title of *Armilla Aurea*. In 1699, he and his friend Uytenbogat endeavored to move the states of Holland, to cause a new translation of the Bible to be made by that excellent scholar, Drusius. In this they failed, because suspicion was already strong among many of the clergy, that they were aiming at the overthrow of the sentiments then prevailing in the Churches of Holland.

In 1600, Arminius set himself against those of his brethren, who were urging an *annual* subscription of all the ministers to the creed and catechism of the Churches in Holland. In 1602, the plague made dreadful ravages in this country, and particularly at Amsterdam. Arminius is said to have distinguished himself greatly, during the continuance of it, by his attention and kindness to the sick and to the bereaved.

During this plague, F. Junius and L. Trelcatius, professors of

divinity at Leyden, both died. The curators of that university elected Arminius to the place of Junius, in 1603. It was only by the interposition of the curators at Leyden, and of the leading men in the government of the states, that the synod at Amsterdam were persuaded to give him a dismissal from the Church at Amsterdam ; so great was the attachment of his people to their minister.

It is said that F. Gomar, a distinguished professor of theology in Leyden at this time, was opposed to the election of Arminius. Soon after the latter was inaugurated into his office, he and his colleague Gomar were brought to a friendly conference, in which Arminius explained himself so plainly and fully against the doctrines of Pelagius, that Gomar professed to be satisfied. But during the next year, Arminius delivered a lecture on predestination, in which he maintained that God had eternally decreed to save believers, and to punish the impenitent ; the one to the praise of his glorious grace, the other in order to display his power and his indignation against sin. Arminius doubtless meant, that God had respect in his decree, to the belief of the one, and the unbelief of the other. Gomar openly attacked this lecture ; Arminius replied ; and thus commenced a dispute which has not yet subsided. Gomar carried it on actively, during the rest of his life. The students of the university soon became engaged in it, and were divided ; a part held with Gomar, but a majority with Arminius, whose lecture room was always crowded.

This state of things very naturally took hold of the public sympathies. The ministers of the Gospel became divided, as well as the students of the university ; but the majority appear to have taken the side of Gomar, and blamed Arminius. As the contest went on, the teachers of religion began first to dispute with each other, then to preach and write against each other, until all Holland was in a state of religious war.

In 1604, some *theses* of Arminius on the divinity of Christ, occasioned him new trouble. The reader will see his views on this subject, in the extracts which by and by will be made from his works.

In 1607, the ministers of Gouda published a catechism, which for the most part was expressed in the language of Scripture, and was intended to be simple and brief. Arminius was accused of favoring this catechism, which, it was averred, would open the floodgates for all manner of error. All these occurrences served to increase the excitement in Holland. This finally rose so high, that the states general were called upon by Arminius and Uytenbogart, to convoke a general synod, before which Arminius might defend himself. The supreme council admitted Arminius and Gomar to a conference before them. The result was, that the council informed the states general, that the disputes between the parties were on points of difficulty, and of little or no importance ; and with respect to them, one might believe in this manner or in that, *salvâ fide et salvâ ecclesiâ*. The states general enjoined on the parties to cease contention, and to teach nothing against the creed or catechism ; and here they dismissed the matter, intimating only, that at some future day, the subjects in dispute might be decided either by a provincial or national synod.

This attempt of the government to put a stop to the disputes con-

cerning religion, although well meant, was entirely unsuccessful.— Neither Arminius nor Gomar ceased to defend themselves, nor to attack their opponents. The students of the university of course followed suit; and ministers through the country, and finally private individuals, became deeply engaged on one side or the other, in this contest.

The friends of Arminius urged upon their more numerous and powerful antagonists, the command of the government to desist from disputation on the subject of the Divine decrees. Gomar and his friends, excited by remonstrances of this nature, finally disclaimed the authority of the states general in matters of religion. In accordance with these views, the *classis* of Alcmár proceeded, in 1608, to depose five of their number from the ministry, because they refused subscription to a declaration enjoined by them; which amounted to this, viz. that the Heidelberg catechism and the creed of the Hollandic Churches, were entirely accordant throughout with the word of God, and that one was bound to teach all which they contained. They were commanded by the supreme council to restore the ejected ministers to their office; but their answer was, that this was an *ecclesiastical* matter, entrusted to the Church and not to civil rulers. In the sequel, they partly yielded, but not entirely, as to the point in question.

About this time, fresh rumors broke out against Arminius, viz. that he and Uytenbogart had been treated with by the pope, in order to engage them in the defence of the Roman Catholic religion. The ground of these rumors was, that Arminius had averred, that God was ready and willing to impart strength to men to do the duty which he required of them; and also, that he had said, that a pope, who like Adrian VI. should honestly aim at a reformation, was to be judged with moderation. To put these accusations to silence, Arminius published his *Theses de Idololatriâ*, in which he maintained that the pope is an *idol*, and that all who pay homage to him, are idolaters. He published other theses also, in which he defended the Churches of the Reformation against the imputation of schism; and in a public *disputatio*, about this time, he declared the pope to be “*adulterum et lenonem ecclesiae, pseudo-prophetam, et caudam draconis, Dei et Christi adversarium, Anti-christum; servum malum qui conservos suos verberat, episcopi nomine indignum, ecclesiae destructorem et vastatorem.*”

One would think, that if calling hard names could ever develop one man's views respecting another, Arminius had sufficiently done this with respect to the pope, on the present occasion. But all this did not seem to satisfy his opponents. Hints were still circulated, that he had a secret favorable opinion of the Romish Church. One of the ministers at Amsterdam accused him of maintaining many capital errors; and among the rest, of holding the pope to be a true member of the Church of Jesus Christ: “a doctrine,” said he, “so odious to God, that many persons have remarked, that since it began to be maintained, the affairs of our republic have taken a very unfortunate turn.” In addition to all this it was reported, that Arminius had persuaded a number of persons to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and influenced magistrates to become less rigid in refusing to papists the liberty of worshipping in their own way without molestation.

In reply to these accusations, Arminius wrote a letter to Sebastian Egbert, in which he explicitly declared that "he did not regard the pope as a member of the body of Christ, but as an obstinate enemy of the same, a sacrilegious man, a blasphemer, a tyrant, a most violent usurper of unjust dominion over the Church, the man of sin, the son of perdition, etc."

As Luther and Calvin had scarcely ever succeeded in bringing more hard names together against the pope, than Arminius collected on this occasion, he seemed, at last, to have made the kind of propitiatory offering which the spirit of the day demanded. For a man to argue coolly and dispassionately, whatever skill or weight his arguments might exhibit or contain, was not enough to satisfy the excited feelings of men. If one did not blacken his adversary, it was but half doing his work. Above all, if he found in him any good thing, one trait of candor, generosity, ability, learning even, then he was no true son of his party. He was regarded as being in secret more than half on his opponent's side; and the only way in which he could throw off this load of suspicion, was, to fill his pages with epithets chosen from the vocabulary which the excitement of the times had rendered too common, to exhibit passionate antipathy, and as it were to clench his fist, and bring it not very softly against the face of his adversary.

One of the most derogatory things that I know of respecting Arminius, is, that he was overcome by the pressure of calumny, so as to yield to such a spirit as that which I have now described. He ought to have resisted it, with calmness as to manner, but still with sacred indignation; because it was truly of an unchristian character. He should have trusted in God, for his ultimate defence and deliverance from calumny. He should have bid defiance to the storm that raged, not in the spirit of pride, but in the strength of conscious innocence; and he was entitled to look with pity on those, who insisted upon it, on penalty of defaming his reputation, that he should defend the truth of God in an ungodly manner. Passion is not piety; the calling of hard names is not argument; the loading of an opponent with curses or with detraction, is not the most probable way of convincing him; nor is the exhibition of the *odium theologicum* a very happy exemplification of obedience to those precepts, which require us, when we are reviled, not to revile again, and demand that "the servant of the Lord should not strive, but be gentle toward all men, meekly instructing those who oppose themselves to the truth, if peradventure God will give them repentance."

Arminius, however, is not the first nor the last, who has been driven, by the cry of heresy, from the ground which Christian integrity and courtesy should ever maintain. But he would have appeared far more dignified, in my view, had he never moved an inch because of the empty accusations about his inclination toward the Romish Church. I am constrained indeed to believe, that all the accusations are true, which he made against the head of that Church, as he then was, and has been for most of the time since. But I could wish he had never uttered them in the manner that he did; much less to appease the unjust demands made on him by detraction. It was an unholy sacrifice. A man who makes such a one, must expect that the very persons who

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demand it, will shortly turn round, and look at him with contempt for doing what they demanded. And no doubt, sooner or later, he did receive ample retribution in this way.

Thus much for the spirit of the day, and the homage which even the more independent minds paid to it. We return to the events of Arminius' life.

In this same year (1608) Arminius was summoned by the states general to appear before them at the Hague, and give them an account of his sentiments. This he did in his famous *Declaratio*, published in his works. From this, most of the extracts in the sequel are made, which are exhibited in order to develop the sentiments of Arminius.

The states general, as a body, were at this time beyond all doubt inclined to favor Arminius. But the disputes continuing with increased violence, in the next year (1609) they summoned Arminius and Gomar before them once more, each accompanied by four ministers of his own party, in order that they might hold another conference in their presence. This was interrupted, in a short time, by the sickness of Arminius. Gomar and his friends insisted, before the magistrates, on a general synod, knowing that they had a majority of the clergy on their side. Uytenbogat, the special friend of Arminius, who was present as one of his assistants, warned the states against being prejudiced by the violence and the number of the opponents of Arminius. He expressed an entire willingness to have a general synod; only he averred that, as Beza once said, *he did not wish Satan to be the president of it.*

In the mean time, Arminius died, on the 19th Oct. 1609. His last sickness was exceedingly severe. Exhausted by the fatigues of body and mind which he had undergone, during the many years of his warfare; deeply wounded by the ill reports which the heat of dispute had engendered, and zeal against him had extensively circulated; he fell under a complication of diseases, viz. fever, cough, dyspnoea, atrophy, and arthritis. It is said, that amidst all his sufferings, he died with great calmness and resignation, lamenting the evils to which the Church had been exposed, and earnestly praying for her peace and prosperity. In his last will, made on his death bed, he solemnly testifies that he had, with simplicity and sincerity of heart, endeavored to discover the truth by searching the Scriptures; and that he had never preached or taught any thing, which he did not believe to be contained in them.

Some of his opponents, as Bertius tells us, did not fail to take advantage of the circumstances of his death, in order to make an impression that Heaven had interposed, by special judgments, to remove him from the earth. A partial paralysis of the left side, was one of the evils which he suffered in his last sickness; and with this, came on an obscuration of vision in the left eye, the optic nerve of which became insensible. His opponents, as Bertius and Brandt aver, quoted and applied to him, because of this, the passage in Zech. xiv, 12, where it is said of the enemies of Jerusalem, that *their eyes shall consume away in their sockets*; also Zech. xi, 17, where it is said of a false shepherd, that *the sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye*. If they did so, they were at least unlucky in the choice of this last text, as it was the *left* eye of Arminius which was affected.

On a par with this exegesis and application of the Scripture, we may place the epigrams which are said to have been made, on the occasion of his death ; among the rest, one made out of his name, by transposition of the letters, *Vani Orbis Amicus*. Among the blessings which the ravages of time bring along with them, one is, that they exterminate a mass of poisonous or of worthless matter, which would otherwise mar the safety and peace of the world by its influence. Such epigrams, I would hope for the honor of Christianity, have been swept away by time, and that they lie buried deep, along with the accusations that Arminius was inclined to favor the Romish Church.

On the other hand, Baudius and Grotius each composed Latin elegies on the occasion of Arminius' death, which were filled with eulogy of his learning and his virtues. It is said that the celebrated Daniel Heinsius, private secretary of the deputation of the states general at the synod of Dort, did the same ; but the copy of his verses was suppressed in the later edition of his works.'

After giving a succinct account of the synod of Dort, which took place about ten years after the death of Arminius, the professor presents to his readers an account of the *Creed of Arminius* ; but as this differs in nothing material from the doctrine of our own Church, except in the article of the possibility of falling from grace, as it has been so often published, it is not necessary, we apprehend, to lay it before our readers in this place. As, however, the views of Arminius on depravity, regeneration, and justification, have occasioned considerable controversy, have been misunderstood by some and misrepresented by others ; and as Professor Stuart has taken some pains to set these subjects in a fair point of light, and to illustrate them by quotations from some other authors of celebrity, of whose orthodoxy even the Calvinists never had any doubt, we think it expedient to give the following extracts from this part of the work before us :—

“ On this point,” namely, *justification*, says Arminius, “ I am not conscious of having thought or taught any thing different from what the reformed and Protestant Churches believe. . . . For the present I say briefly, that I believe sinners to be justified solely by the obedience of Christ ; and that the righteousness of Christ is the sole meritorious cause, on account of which God pardons believers, and accounts them as just, not otherwise than if they had obeyed the whole law. But since God imputes the righteousness of Christ to none except to believers, I think that in this sense, faith may well and truly be said to be gratuitously imputed to a believer for righteousness, viz. inasmuch as God has set forth his Son Jesus Christ as the mercy seat (*ἱλαστήριον*) or propitiatory sacrifice, by faith in his blood. But however this may be, my sentiments on this subject do not so differ from those of Calvin, whom all admit to be correct here, but that I am ready to subscribe with my own hand, to those things which he has said in the third book of his *Institutions*.” (p. 127.)

Arminius then adds : “ These, most noble and supreme *Ordines*,

are the particular articles, respecting which I deemed it necessary to speak my sentiments, agreeably to the order of your *Consensus*." (p. 127.) He then concludes his declaration, by urging a new and general synod of the Belgic Churches, to take into consideration several particulars of their confession and catechism. p. 128 seq.

We may well suppose, that the points which have now been brought under review, were the principal ones which were the object of attack upon him ; for it would have been very ill judged in him to leave unnoticed any important particular of accusation, before an assembly of the states general, to whom an ultimate appeal must be made in all matters of Church as well as of state. Whatever other allegations his opponents have made, or can make against him, I presume that of being wanting in shrewdness and foresight never has been, and never will be one. He plainly *outgeneraled* all his competitors, and enlisted a large majority of the civil power on his side.

It appears, however, that Arminius was not assailed in synods only. There was put in circulation, in a kind of private way, a paper or papers, containing thirty-one charges of error, i. e. error with respect to thirty-one points in theology. To these he at length made a public reply, denying many of them wholly ; explaining others ; and avowing his sentiments in regard to most of them. From these avowals, I beg the liberty of making a few extracts, which will explain more fully the opinions of this writer, on some points which the preceding extracts leave untouched.

Among other accusations was the following ; viz. "that he held, that to those, unto whom the Gospel is preached, sufficient grace of the Holy Spirit is given, so that if they will, they are able to believe ; otherwise God does but mock men, in proffering them salvation."

That he ever taught this, in the same words, or the like ones, he totally denies. He afterward proceeds to show what he does hold. "What is meant by *giving sufficient grace* ? It is known that there is *habitual* grace (*gratiam habitualement*) and the grace of *assistance* (*assistentiae*.) Now the phrase *sufficient* grace may be construed as meaning, that all to whom the Gospel is preached, have *habitual* grace infused into them, which renders them qualified (*aptos*) to yield faith to the Gospel ; which sense I disapprove. For whatever is said of their *sufficiency*, I think should be ascribed to the assistance of the Holy Spirit, by which He aids the preaching of the Gospel, as the instrument by which He is wont to operate on the minds of men. But this assistance of the Holy Spirit may easily be explained, and sufficiency ascribed to it ; so that Pelagianism may be shunned, at a great distance.

As to the expression, 'They can believe, through that sufficient grace, if they will ;' these words, in this crude form, may be made to convey the very worst sense, and one which by no means accords with the Scriptures ; just as if, when ability is once given, the Holy Spirit and Divine grace remain inactive, waiting to see whether man will rightly use this ability and believe in the Gospel. Whereas he who would think and speak correctly respecting this matter, must necessarily assign to grace its own part, and this the principal one, in persuading the will so that it shall assent to those things which are preached.

This explanation will easily free me from the suspicion of heresy on this point." (p. 145.)

The amount of these views seems to be, that Arminius never meant to assert, that *habitual* grace rendered men able or disposed to accept the offers of the Gospel. In other words, what is sometimes called *common* grace, i. e. such influences of the Spirit, whatever they may be, as are bestowed habitually on all men who hear the Gospel, these Arminius denies to be sufficient to engender faith, or to enable the sinner savingly to believe. He affirms that the *gratia assistentie*, grace specially aiding, or (as we call it) *special* grace, is necessary in order to persuade the will to assent unto the Gospel. He avows explicitly, that we must assign to this grace its own part, and this a principal one, in the matter of saving belief. And if there can be any doubt here as to his meaning, we have to look to his declaration respecting the free will of the sinner, (p. 271 above,) where he openly avows, that "man, in his fallen and sinful state, is able neither to think, will, nor do any thing truly good, but he must be regenerated and renewed of God, in Christ, by the Holy Spirit, in his understanding, affections, or will, and all his faculties, in order rightly to understand, regard, consider, will, and do that which is truly good."

I do not see how it can be justly denied, that Arminius held the doctrine of total depravity, (as this expression is understood by all considerate and intelligent theologians of the present day,) and the doctrine of *special* grace, in the highest sense that words are capable of expressing, unless man is represented as a mere passive machine. It is doing manifest injustice to his memory, to tax him with a denial of these doctrines; and equal injustice, to appeal to him as a patron and supporter of sentiments directly opposed to these doctrines. The envy or fear of a name, and the heat of party spirit, can never be an adequate apology for doing injustice to the dead, in order to gain interest among the living. Nor can a Christian sense of justice admit that it is pardonable, either to denounce a man for errors which he did not hold, or to appeal to him as the patron of sentiments which he rejected, (and this in order to render them more popular and grateful,) when the means of correction are at hand, and nothing is wanting but a little diligence to use them. Whatever were the faults or virtues of Arminius, neither the one nor the other consisted in his rejecting the doctrine of the entire depravity of the unregenerate man, or of the special influences of the Spirit of God; for it is clear as the light, that he did fully recognize the truth of both these doctrines.

I am apprehensive that neither his opposers nor his friends will be satisfied with this representation; for both, in some respects which may easily be conjectured, will be disappointed. The pen of historic justice, however, must not be guided by the wishes of those who may read, but by the evidence which lies before it. This evidence I have produced; and every man of candor may now judge for himself.

Clearly as the opinion of Arminius is expressed in the above extracts, so clearly that we are not at liberty to doubt what his opinion was, unless we can show that he has made a false statement, yet he had such views of the state of the sinner, when laboring under that conviction of mind which usually precedes the regeneration of the heart, as do not

agree with the speculative opinions of many excellent men at the present day. The point is both a delicate and an interesting one ; and therefore it is expedient to give his own words.

The anonymous paper that had been put in circulation, and contained the thirty-one articles of accusation mentioned above, charged him, among other things, with holding that "the works of the unregenerate may be pleasing to God, and may be an impulsive cause or occasion, on account of which God is moved to confer saving grace upon them."

In respect to this allegation he says, "The word *unregenerate* may be understood in a two-fold sense. (1) It denotes those who have not experienced any influence of the Spirit, either regenerating them, or tending to or preparing for regeneration. (2) It signifies those who are in the state of being born again, and experience the influence of the Holy Spirit, pertaining either to that which is preparatory to regeneration, or to regeneration itself ; although the final act itself of regeneration is not yet completed. I have reference to such persons as are led to acknowledge their sins, to grieve for them, to desire deliverance from them, and to seek after the Deliverer who has been revealed ; although they are not yet the actual subjects of that influence of the Spirit, by which the flesh or the old man is mortified, and the new man, formed for a new life, is able to do good works.

In the next place I remark, that a thing may be pleasing to God, either as an initial action pertaining to the commencement of conversion ; or as a work complete as to its very essence, and performed by one truly converted and born again. Thus confession of sin is pleasing to God, in which one acknowledges that he is stupid, blind, and poor, and therefore would betake himself to Christ that he may procure ointment for his eyes and garments for himself. So also, works which proceed from warm affection, are pleasing to God. Calvin himself appears to distinguish between the *initial* and *filial* fear of God ; and so does Beza, who holds that grief and sorrow for sin belong not to the essential part of regeneration, but to the preparatory one ; while he places the essence of regeneration itself in the mortification [of sin,] and in the vivification [of holiness.]

In the third place I remark, that the occasion or impulsive cause by which God is moved, may be variously understood. It will be sufficient for my purpose, if I appeal to two passages of Scripture, from a comparison of which a distinction may be made out which is agreeable to, and sufficient for, my present purpose. In Matt. xviii, 32, the king says, 'I have forgiven thee the whole debt, because thou didst ask me.' In Gen. xxii, 16, 17, God says to Abraham, 'Since thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy son, thine only son, I will greatly bless thee.' If any one does not see in these, first an *impulsive* cause, and secondly one of *complacency*, it must be because he is blind as to the Scriptures.

In the fourth place, saving grace is conferred in different measures or ways ; it may be the first grace, or the second ; it may be antecedent, or subsequent ; it may be operating, or co-operating ; it may be knocking and opening, or actually entering. Now unless one properly distinguishes all these things, and uses his language accordingly,

he must necessarily infringe upon others, whose sentiments he does not well understand, or he must make them offenders. If any one will duly consider these things, he will find that the accusation or allegation in question, when understood in one sense, is agreeable to the Scriptures; but in another sense, it is widely diverse from them.

Let the word *unregenerate* be understood as designating one in whom the work of regeneration is begun but not completed; let that which is pleasing when completed, be considered as agreeable when it is commenced; let *impulsive* be defined as that which tends to the final obtaining of a thing; and finally, let saving grace be considered as secondary, subsequent, co-operative, and actually entering [the sinner's heart;] then, evidently we may say with propriety, that earnest sorrow for sin is pleasing to God in such a sense, that, from his abounding compassion, he is moved by it to bestow grace on sinful man."— (pp. 158, 159.)

It would seem, from this representation, that the sinner who is awakened to a sense of his lost condition, may, as Arminius viewed it, be the subject of real sorrow for sin, and have a deep, or at least a true sense of his spiritual wants, and of the necessity of betaking himself to Christ in order that they may be supplied; and all this, short of actual regeneration. This seems at first view to be repugnant to his opinions about the natural, unregenerate man, which have been stated above, and also to the statement of Arminius with regard to special grace. But the contradiction is merely in appearance. Arminius does not deny that the sinner's conviction and sorrow for sin, are the work of the Spirit; he recognizes it as the initial work of the Spirit, but not as the essential and completing one. Of course, he does not contradict his views of the natural man, as he is in himself. The mistake, if there be any, lies in his definition of regeneration. (He appeals to Beza in order to confirm this, and avers that Beza held grief and sorrow for sin not to be regeneration, but only a preparation for it.) The mortification of the sinful principle, and the vivification of the holy one, Beza makes to be regeneration. And as Arminius had himself been a pupil and an ardent admirer of Beza, we can hardly distrust the correctness of this statement.

Now, at the present day, we are accustomed (rightly as I must believe) to think, that real grief and sorrow for sin come only from a heart truly penitent, and therefore truly regenerate. There may be much terror on account of sin, much *legal* fear, much "sorrow of the world which worketh death," without any real evangelical contrition. The error of Arminius, then, if it be one, lies merely in mistaking the definition of regeneration, or in a want of right views as to the place of its commencement, if I may be permitted so to speak. He makes a gradual work, partly legal and partly evangelical, all of which together makes up an initial and final work of the Spirit, or the whole compass of the operation by Divine grace. After all, the essential act of regeneration itself, the final one, the *gratia finalis, efficiens, ingrediens*, he does not state to be gradual. It is the preparatory, not the final part, which in his view is gradual.

We may differ from him, then, and from Beza, (if Arminius has correctly stated his opinion,) as to the point where the actual renovation

itself of the heart begins. But we need not, on this account, accuse either of them as being heterodox on this point, so long as they ascribe *both the initial and final process to Divine grace*, and maintain that the sinner of himself is "dead in trespasses and sins."

In regard, moreover, to what Arminius calls the initial or preparatory part of the work of regeneration, he certainly does not stand alone here. If this be heretical, then others, whose reputation for high orthodoxy has never been called in question, are also heretical on the same point. Thus in confirmation of the statement of Arminius respecting Beza, I find that this author in commenting on John iii, 6, *That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit*, says, when explaining the nature of the spiritual birth, in distinction from our natural one, "that the Spirit of God does not impart Himself to the regenerate substantially, i. e. by infusing into them a part of His own essence, or by an abscission of Himself in part, and communicating this part to those who are created anew; nor does He create a new substance in the place of the old one which belonged to the natural man; He only renews the image of God in them, removing by His power their former state of pollution, and bestowing on them a disposition to purity; which is a work so great and distinguished, that those who are transformed in such a manner as to their moral qualities, may with propriety be called regenerate, that is, born again, yea, they seem as it were to be created anew, by existing in a new state."

But this great work is not begun and completed at once, according to the views of Beza. So he explains himself: "*Hoc autem SENSIM quidem [Spiritus] efficit; et primum in animâ, cujus intellectum verâ luce illustrare, et voluntatem et caeteros affectus ad bonum volendum et præstandum præparare incipit;*" that is, "the Holy Spirit GRADUALLY accomplishes the work of regeneration; He begins by imparting light to the understanding; and thus He prepares the way for the will and other affections to be inclined to that which is good."

How this differs, in any material circumstance, from the statement and views of Arminius, I am not able to perceive. Neither of them maintains, that the *essential* act itself of regenerating, is gradual. Both aver that there is a preparatory work which is gradual, (*hoc sensim efficit*), so that one may affirm that Beza and Arminius both held the work of regeneration to be gradual, when considered as a whole, i. e. as embracing the initial or preparatory work; but neither avers this, as to the act itself of creating the soul anew, or of regenerating it in the highest and truly efficient sense.

Nor do these writers stand alone. Dr. Owen, the *coryphaeus* of the English Calvinists, in his great work on the Spirit, says, that "Ordinarily there are certain *previous and preparatory workings* in and upon the souls of men, that are antecedent and *dispositive* unto regeneration." (Vol. i, p. 362.) "This," he goes on to say, "is, for the substance of it, the position of the divines of the Church of England at the synod of Dort. . . . I mention this, that those by whom these things are despised, may a little consider whose ashes they trample on and scorn." He then goes on to aver, that what he says respecting this preparatory work, has respect only to adults; and that "the disposition (preparatory and dispositive) is only *materially* so, but

not such as contains grace of the same nature as in regeneration itself."

But what is a *material* disposition to regeneration? Let the author explain himself. "It is one which disposeth, and in some way maketh a subject fit, for the reception of that which shall be communicated, added, or infused into it as its form." By *form* here, I suppose the writer to mean, what was meant by the metaphysical schools of his day. *Form*, in one sense of the word, means a *mould*. Now as melted metal poured into a mould, receives a particular form and shape; so *infusion into a thing as a form*, borrows its meaning from this. The mould (so to speak) of the soul is, in Dr. Owen's view, first to be fashioned, shaped *materialiter*, i. e. as to its own natural ingredients or component parts, before the Spirit of God can be infused into it.

He proceeds to explain his idea. "So wood by dryness and a due composure, is made ready and fit to admit of firing or continual fire." Such then is the preparatory work of regeneration, in Dr. Owen's view. He distinguishes between this so called *material* disposition and a *formal* disposition of the soul. The latter is an *ἀπαρχή* of essential regenerating grace; (*formal* here meaning *essential*, i. e. pertaining, according to the old metaphysics, to *essential form*;) it is "where one degree of the same kind disposeth the subject unto farther degrees of it; as the morning light, which is of the same kind, disposeth the air to the reception of the full light of the sun." This formal disposition he excludes from the preparatory work; and exactly the same thing do Arminius and Beza.

Dr. Owen proceeds still farther to unfold his idea of the new birth. "In natural generation," says he, "there are sundry dispositions of the matter, before the form [essence] is introduced. So the body of Adam was formed before the rational soul was breathed into it; and Ezekiel's bones came together with a noise and shaking, before the breath of life entered into them." (p. 363.)

Hear him in another subsequent passage: "There are some things required of us in the way of duty, IN ORDER UNTO OUR REGENERATION, which are so in the power of our own natural abilities, as that nothing but corrupt prejudices and stubbornness in sinning, doth keep or hinder men from the performance of them." These things he states to be, (1) "Outward attendance on the dispensation of God's word; (2) A diligent intention [attention] of mind in attending on the means of grace." "These things," says he again, "are required of us *in order unto our regeneration*." (pp. 364, 365.) He goes on to state, that these will not of themselves regenerate us, "without an especial, effectual, internal work of the Holy Spirit on the soul;" but that God does "ordinarily, in the effectual dispensation of His grace, meet with them who attend diligently to the outward administration of the means of it."

Beside these preparatory steps toward regeneration, Dr. Owen avers that there are other and more important ones. "There are certain spiritual effects, wrought in and upon the souls of men, whereof the word is the instrument;" viz. (1) Illumination. (2) Conviction. (3) Reformation. "The first of these respects the mind only; the

second, the mind, conscience, and affections; the third, the life and conversation." (p. 366.) Under the head which treats of illumination, he declares, that "there is an illumination [of the unregenerate] which is an *especial* effect of the Holy Ghost, by the word, on the minds of men;" and this he endeavors to establish, by declaring that "such an illumination adds perspicuity to the understanding; greater assent of mind to things revealed; some kind of sudden joy; and sometimes it adds gifts to all the rest." He concludes this head, by saying that such illumination is not regeneration, but "a *third* degree [of illumination] is required thereunto." The second degree has brought the subject of it out of a purely natural state, and placed him on a kind of intermediate ground. A third degree perfects the work. And this second degree, "in the order of nature, is previous to a full and real conversion to God, and is materially [in the sense before explained] preparatory and dispositive thereunto."

Under the head of *conviction*, he states, that "it is antecedaneous unto real conversion to God;" it consists "in sorrow or grief for sin committed; because past or irrecoverable;" also "in humiliation for sin, which is the exercise or working of sorrow and fear in outward acts of confession, fasting, praying, and the like." (pp. 368, 369.)

To all these he adds, that "the soul is filled with thoughts, desires, inquiries, and contrivances about a deliverance out of that state and condition wherein it is;" and that "a great reformation of life, and *change in affections*, doth ensue hereon."

"All these," he next avers, "may be wrought in the minds of men by the dispensation of the word, and yet the work of regeneration never be perfected in them." Moreover, "These things are good in themselves, and fruits of the kindness of God toward us," (p. 370;) "they are the effects of the power of the Spirit of God." (p. 372.)

An objection then presents itself to the mind of this distinguished theologian. "How can the Holy Spirit be the author of a work, which is ineffectual and imperfect upon the hearts of men?" To this he answers, (1) In most persons real conversion follows this work; and "their *preparatory actings* make way for the introduction of the new spiritual life into the soul." (2) Their failure is owing to the sinner's extreme wickedness; for "even common illumination and conviction of sin have, in their own nature, a tendency unto sincere conversion." It is "wilfulness and stubbornness in those enlightened and convicted," which defeat the end to be attained. "*They faint not for WANT OF STRENGTH to proceed; BUT BY A FREE ACT OF THEIR OWN WILLS*, they refuse the grace which is farther tendered unto them in the Gospel. This *will*, and its actual resistency unto the work of the Spirit, God is pleased in some way to take away . . . but *the sin of men, and their guilt, is in it*, where it is continued; for no more is required hereunto, [i. e. to constitute sin or guilt,] but that it be *voluntary*; IT IS WILL, AND NOT POWER, THAT GIVES RECTITUDE OR OBLIQUITY UNTO MORAL ACTIONS." (pp. 373, 374.)

So speak the unbiassed feelings of every man on earth, respecting the moral nature of sin, when he forgets system, and comes to vindicate God and the work of his Spirit, as Dr. Owen does here. It is "not want of strength," says this excellent man and divine, "but a

free act of the sinner's own will" which makes him come short of the grace of life. How little Dr. Owen, on some occasions, remembered such explicit declarations as these, when he was urging the doctrine of human inability and depravity against the Semi-Pelagians of his day, any one may see who will take the trouble to compare his works. But I return to my immediate purpose.

Dr. Owen does not even stop with the preparatory work of regeneration, where I have left him. He goes on quite beyond Arminius himself; for in speaking of his "preparatory and dispositive work," he says: "These operations of the Holy Spirit are, in their own nature, GOOD AND HOLY; illumination is so; so is conviction; so is sorrow for sin; with a subsequent change of affections and amendment of life." (p. 374.)

Arminius contented himself with averring merely, that these things in the convicted sinner were *pleasing* to God, because they are dispositive toward regeneration, i. e. constitute an initial state of preparation for that work. But Dr. Owen does not scruple to say, that these very same things are "*good and holy*." Both acknowledge that they proceed solely from the influence of the Spirit; so that here is no room for making any distinction. If then Arminius was an *Arminian* in regard to this whole matter, Beza was one equally decided, and Dr. Owen was greatly advanced beyond either, in the same heresy. So easy it is, where history and facts are not consulted, and prejudice and popular clamor are followed, to put down one man for heresy, and cry up another for orthodoxy, when, if both are sifted to the bottom, it will be found, that they are substantially agreed on the very points where they are affirmed widely to differ.

The right or wrong of Arminius, or Beza, or Owen, is not what I am laboring to prove or disprove. This is not my present business. But to do historical justice to the parties concerned, by showing what their opinions really were, and what justice or injustice has been done them by subsequent ages, will be regarded as highly proper, by every candid and discerning man.

My apology for dwelling so long on these points, is, the interest which they claim, at present, in our religious community. Every man who wishes to know "what he speaketh and whereof he affirmeth," will be glad to have facts placed before him; and then he can judge for himself.

I do not refrain from giving any opinion on the correctness of the sentiments above cited, because I have none; but because, as I have already remarked, it would here be out of place. I say, only in a word, that to some of the *things* aimed at by these distinguished writers, I can give my hearty assent; to some others I cannot; and to the *mode* of representation in general, I feel many objections which do not seem to me capable of being removed.

I proceed to another topic of great interest, and respecting which I have yet exhibited no very explicit declarations of Arminius; I mean *the sin and fall of our first parents*. In his thesis respecting this, he ascribes their first sin to their own free will, and to Satan, as concurrent causes of it. As to its effect on their posterity, he uses the following language:—

"This whole sin is not peculiar to our first parents, but is common to the whole race of their posterity ; who, at the time when they sinned, were in their loins, and afterward descended by natural generation from them. *For all sinned in Adam*, Rom. v. Whatever punishment, therefore, was inflicted on our first parents, has gone down through, and still rests on, all their posterity ; so that all are children of wrath by nature, Eph. iii, 3, being obnoxious to condemnation, to death temporal and eternal, and to a destitution of original righteousness and holiness. To these evils they will remain eternally subject, unless they are delivered from them by Jesus Christ ; to whom be glory for ever." (p. 243.)

To the same purpose Arminius speaks, in another thesis respecting the effects of the sin committed by our first parents. "If they transgressed, their posterity were to be deprived of such blessings as they enjoyed, [viz. the favor and grace of God,] and were to become obnoxious to the opposite evils. Hence it comes, that all men who are their natural descendants, have become obnoxious to eternal and temporal death, and are destitute of original righteousness ; which penalty is usually called, a loss of the Divine image, and *original sin*." (p. 378.)

If President Edwards, who endeavors to prove the physical and metaphysical unity of all men with Adam and Eve, was sufficiently strenuous on the doctrine of original sin and imputation of sin ; then is Arminius to be regarded in the same light as to this point ; inasmuch as he maintains the absolute *physical* unity of all men with Adam, and that the same sentence of death, temporal and eternal, has come upon all, because they did thus partake of Adam's sin. So says the Westminster Catechism, moreover : "Who sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression." I have met with no orthodoxy of a higher type than that of Arminius, on this much contested point.

My readers will doubtless be curious to inquire, whether Arminius has given us still more particular views, in respect to the hereditary depravity which we derive from Adam. In his thesis on *actual sins*, he has touched this point. He is speaking of the cause of our sinning, when he says : "The efficient cause of all actual sins, is man's free will. The *causa προηγούμενη*, precedent cause, is our original inclination to that which is contrary to the Divine law, which [inclination] we contracted by natural generation from our first parents. The *causæ προαπάρχονται*, the predisposing causes, [of sin,] are the objects and occasions which solicit to sin." (p. 245.)

In his thesis respecting the *free will and ability of men*, he represents the unregenerate man as "impotent in his will with respect to good ; as mangled, wounded, infirm, bowed down, beat down, taken captive, undone, lost ; his ability not only weakened and inefficacious, without the assistance of Divine grace, but as amounting to nothing at all without such grace ; for, adds he, Christ has said, *Without me ye can do nothing*. The mind of man, in his natural state, he declares to be darkened, and incapable of understanding the things of the Spirit. With this is associated the perverseness of the heart and affections, so that the sinner hates what is truly good, and loves and pursues what is evil. The carnal mind is enmity against God, is not subject to his

law, neither indeed can be. The heart is deceitful, perverse, uncircumcised, hard, and stony ; its imagination is only evil, from youth."

His impotence as to all that is good, corresponds to his blindness of mind and perversity of heart. An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit. He is not subject to the law of God, neither can he be so. He is altogether dead in sin. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty ; the Son only can make us free ; "it follows, therefore, that our will, since the first offence of Adam, is *not free to good*, unless it is made free by the Son." (pp. 263, 264.)

After thus exhibiting the history and creed of Arminius, the learned professor thus sums up his own views respecting him and his doctrine :—

‘ On the whole, it must be conceded that Arminius had rare talents to sustain the place of a leader of a party. He was learned, eloquent, bold, ardent, fearless, persevering, and undismayed by partial defeat. If he was repulsed, and his forces scattered, and the enemy were retiring to celebrate their supposed final triumph, he would rally again, pursue his exulting foes, and attack them while crowned with the garlands of victory. He was so thoroughly versed in the ancient fathers of the Church, so acute in school logic, and familiar with the masters of it, and withal so much of an adept in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, that his declarations respecting these matters carried along with them a weight among the learned, which his antagonists could not well resist. Then, when he appeared in public as a preacher, his great engagedness, the great remove at which he placed himself from the school theology, which was unintelligible to the common people, and withal his sweet voice, his winning manner, and his seriousness and fervor, overcame all the prejudices that his opponents could raise against him, and made him the idol of his congregation at Amsterdam, and equally so of the students at Leyden. Not a little of the asperity of Gomar’s opposition to him, sprung, in all probability, from this source. How can we bear, not only that another should venture to differ from our own opinion, but that he should even make it and himself more popular than we can make our cause and ourselves ? It is one of the hardest burdens to bear, that poor human nature ever takes upon itself. Nothing but magnanimity above the ordinary stamp, and even this sanctified by the grace of God, will enable a man meekly and patiently to sustain such a load.

With all the superior advantages of person and talent which Arminius possessed, there was joined an expertness and dexterity of management, which he had acquired by long personal experience. When a child, he became an orphan. From the very dawn of his being, then, he was inured to struggle with difficulties and trials. Early in life he went abroad, and began to contend with some of the first geniuses of the age, in regard to metaphysics and dialectics. In all the universities where he came, he was put forward as a leader and spokesman. Defamation attacked him on his outset in life. All these things gave him experience and dexterity ; and these, united with his talents and learning, his personal manners and appearance, his fervor

and eloquence, fitted him in an extraordinary manner to gain popularity and influence, and to foil his adversaries in serious conflict.

Beside these things, which account for his influence and success, it must be remembered, that his own personal heresy, (if indeed such a name must be given to his opinions,) was not a very grievous one in the eyes of sober and reflecting persons, who were not partisans in theology. On all the great doctrines of the Gospel, total depravity, special grace, atonement by the death of Christ, justification by grace alone through faith, the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divine authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, and other doctrines necessarily connected with these, he was altogether orthodox. He only contended against the *decretum absolutum* and irresistible grace, and doubted about final perseverance, because he thought that this could not be maintained, without infringing upon the liberty and free agency of man. And admitting that he reasoned wrongly here, it amounts to an error in the philosophy of religion, rather than in its *theosophy*, if I may use this word in the sense which its origin indicates. Consequently the moderate part of thinkers in religion, did not regard Arminius as deserving of decided and hostile reprobation. They first sympathized with him under the abuse which he received; and (which is very natural) at last with his sentiments. This done, the more he was impinged upon by his opponents, the closer did his friends draw around him.

He had powerful friends. Uytenbogart was the most distinguished pulpit orator of his day in Holland. Oldenbarneveld, Grotius, Hogerbeets, Casaubon, J. G. Vossius, Vorstius, some of them among the most distinguished scholars the world has seen, were the decided friends of Arminius. He well knew this; and supported by such influence, he redoubled his zeal and his confidence.

To sum up the whole of Arminius' character in a word; he was a man of very distinguished talents and learning; he possessed shining and popular talents to an uncommon degree; he was too much actuated by the love of popularity and novelty; and too much intent on making his opponents unpopular. He was fitted, in an unusual manner, to become a powerful heresiarch; but most of the accusations of heresy made against him, appear to be the offspring of suspicion, or of a wrong construction put upon his words. In reference to what is now, and has for a long time been, called Arminianism among us, we may well and truly say, that *Arminius himself was no Arminian*. The justification of such an assertion is altogether unnecessary, after having made such copious extracts from his writings as I have made above. Unless Sublapsarians are to be counted heretics, Arminius himself is not justly to be called a heretic. If he is, then the Lutheran Churches are to be deemed heretical; who have almost universally accorded with his sentiments. If any insist upon it, moreover, that Sublapsarians are heretics, a majority of the synod of Dort must come under this denomination. I trust that a sober man will be disposed to consider the subject very seriously, before he proceeds in a plan of excommunication so extensive as this.'

We know not to what particular system of doctrines Professor Stuart alludes, when he says above that, 'In reference to what is now, and

has for a long time been called Arminianism among us, we may well and truly say, that *Arminius himself was no Arminian.* We know of no sect indeed, at the present time, which is distinguished by the name of Arminian, only so far as this name may have been applied to us as a term of reproach, and which we have constantly repelled, not by denying that we are Arminians, understanding thereby those who hold to the doctrines taught by Arminius ; but by endeavoring to show that Arminianism properly understood was not that dreaded heresy which our opponents had so often and so long represented it to be ; and we are now glad to find ourselves sustained and justified by so able a champion for orthodoxy as is Professor Stuart.

We allow, indeed, that many have been *called* Arminians, who were as far from the creed of Arminius, as he was represented to be by his adversaries from genuine orthodoxy, and from which the present piece so triumphantly vindicates him ; but why Arminius himself, or any of his genuine followers, should be reproached with sentiments they never held, but always and uniformly protested against, we cannot tell ; and we cannot but hope that hereafter we may hear no more that Arminianism, or in other words Methodism, should be ranked among the enemies of the cross of Christ.

Circumstances having placed us in such a position as to compel us to look narrowly and cautiously into this controversy, we have often wondered at the flippancy of some writers who have so positively condemned Arminianism as a detestable heresy. We asked ourselves, *Do not these writers know better ?* If they do not, they are certainly unfit to write on this subject ; because it was as clear to our minds as the light at noon day, that they entirely misapprehended the doctrine taught by Arminius ; and identifying our principles with *that*, without a proper examination, they set us down also as unsound in the faith. If, on the other hand, they knew better, we were at a loss to reconcile their conduct with common honesty. And we think the discussion of this subject by Professor Stuart, considering the results to which he has so justly arrived, leads to one or the other of the following conclusions : either,

1. That the enemies of Arminius and of Arminianism wilfully misrepresented him and his doctrine ; or,
2. That they were ignorant of the man and of his communication.

And whoever will consult Nichols' edition of the *Works of Arminius* will be at no loss in determining this question. We are extremely gratified, however, to find that bigotry is giving place to candor, and that such a man as Professor Stuart is ennobling his character by doing such an act of justice to the illustrious dead. It is a service for which the Christian community ought to thank him, and more especially his

more immediate brethren, as it will set them right on a very important and long-mooted item of Christian theology, and enable them to decide with greater accuracy on the points of difference between Calvinism and Arminianism.

Although we have received no new light on this subject, having been long satisfied that Arminianism, as taught either by Arminius himself or by John Wesley, would bear the light of a thorough and impartial examination, yet we rejoice that Professor Stuart was led to take this subject in hand, as many will read his work and believe his word, that would, in all probability, otherwise never have been rightly informed on these subjects. And if the professor will now take up the *Life and Times of John Wesley*, and do as ample justice to him and his doctrine, as he has done to Arminius and his doctrine, he will add another item to the catalogue of his good deeds, and thereby convince *his* readers that Methodism should no longer be ranked among 'the resources of the adversary.'

As reference has been made in the preceding quotation from Professor Stuart to the circumstances which led Arminius forth into the field of controversy, perhaps it may be satisfactory to our readers to have these explained more at large. The following account of these matters is taken from Nichols' edition of the *Works of Arminius*, vol. i, page 59 :—

'The cause of the controversy was this : Coornhert one day entered into conversation with a man who made a great boast of having left the communion of the Church of Rome, and joined the Reformed or Calvinists. Coornhert, perceiving from his conversation, that this proselyte from popery could adduce no solid reason for the change, dryly observed, "It is a matter that may admit of some doubt, whether the profession of religion which you have abandoned, or that which you have embraced, be the better." This expression being repeated with a few obnoxious additions, as is the general custom in cases of this kind, excited the sensitive zeal of the two Calvinist ministers, and in the heat of their passion they challenged Coornhert to a public controversy on *the characteristics of the true Church*. Coornhert maintained, that the congregations that believed and professed the doctrines of Calvin, could not be true Churches : to prove this thesis, he reprobated in a masterly and popular manner their peculiar views of *predestination, justification, and killing heretics*. After this public conference had been conducted on both sides a short time, it was prohibited by order of the states general,—but resumed a few weeks afterward at Leyden, where certain deputies were appointed by their high mightinesses to attend as moderators in the assembly. Coornhert relates, that he was not allowed by these commissioners of the states, to mention the subject of *punishing heretics with death* ; and he was compelled to follow the two ministers in the order in which they chose to conduct the dispute and to answer the questions which they proposed.

Yet though he had to maintain his cause against two subtil opponents, and before judges who were themselves of the Calvinistic persuasion, he completely silenced the chief speaker Cornelison, who, being greatly enraged, was not able to proceed with his intended arguments. Don-teklok came to his assistance, but soon caught the infectious stammering and hesitation of his colleague, and when he was obliged suddenly to stop, either through a defect of recollection or a want of argument, Coornhert, who was a bold and witty man, said rather smartly, "What! is this the doctrine of Calvin and Beza?" Their honors, the commissioners, thinking this a good opportunity for relieving the embarrassment of the discomfitted ministers, turned round to Coornhert and reprimanded him severely for having mentioned the names of those two venerable reformers. Another person also added something in the way of reproof, to whom Coornhert, having given an answer in kind, proceeded to say, "We are permitted to repeat the name both of God and the *devil*, without being called to an account for such words; why then ought we to be blamed for speaking of two mortal men that were liable to error?" Many warm expressions followed on both sides, and Coornhert left them, declaring before the hundreds of assembled hearers, that he should reason no longer with men who would not concede to him the right of reply.

Each party, as is usual on such occasions, claimed the victory for itself. Coornhert was for some years prohibited from publishing his remarks on this or any other religious controversy, although he petitioned the states, without effect, against such a severe and sweeping restriction. But the ministers of Delft,—willing to give the best coloring to the doctrine of Calvinistic predestination, some time about the year 1589, wrote the popular pamphlet, the title of which has already been given, and in which they defended the lower or *sublapsarian* scheme.

This controversy had occurred ten years before; yet, in consequence of it, Coornhert had frequently become the object of pulpit vituperation. Some of his theological opinions were certainly too loosely expressed, and were such as could not be maintained by any conscientious ARMINIAN,—a term of distinction at that time unknown among professors of religion. He was a man of great sincerity, a hater of persecution on religious account, and his life and conduct were most holy and exemplary. He had rendered important services to his country on various trying emergencies at the risk of his life, and had been a most zealous and active champion in the cause of the reformation. Yet he was loaded with reproaches, and his name was cast out as evil. "The heretic" and "the libertine" were the usual epithets by which he was known among his enemies; and to refute his supposed errors from the press and the pulpit, was the labor which almost every petty synod in the United Provinces delegated to one of the most able of its members. When Lydius, therefore, who was an admirer of Beza and consequently a *supralapsarian*, had sent the pamphlet published by the ministers at Delft, and had solicited Arminius to defend the sentiments of his old master, against those which were then considered to be much too mild and fraught with error,—at the very same period the ecclesiastical senate of Amsterdam preferred a

request to him that he would undertake the province of exposing the errors of Coornhert. Thus, by a remarkable coincidence, was committed into the hands of Arminius, a young divine of the greatest promise, the momentous charge of refuting what were deemed to be two very opposite heresies. The providence of God, under whose control are all the affairs of His Church, seems, for the wisest and most beneficent purposes, to have brought into immediate contact, at a remarkable crisis, two clashing propositions involving an important verity of Christian doctrine, that they might arouse the attention and excite the energies of a mortal who had been highly gifted of God, and upon whom had been bestowed an enlarged and most capacious understanding, and a mind so peculiarly trained to close thought and logical deductions, as if it had been educated with the sole intent of skilfully eliciting the portion of conflicting truth contained in each of these propositions, and of framing from them a grand and Scriptural system which most signally "justifies the ways of God to man."

On page 11 Professor Stuart gives it as his opinion that if Arminius had taken the sage advice addressed to him by Beza, and 'reduced it to practice, he would have never been the head of a party which is called by his name; and he would have avoided many a scandal and sorrow, and much disturbance to the Church of God.' In this we by no means agree with the professor. It was not owing to a rage for novelty, nor from an improper warmth of temperament, which led Arminius to perceive the errors of high-toned Calvinism; but an ardent love of the truth, and a conscientious regard to its sacred dictates. Indeed, it is not at all to be wondered at that a mind like that of Arminius, so richly furnished with science, so deeply bent on the pursuit of truth, and withal so thoroughly imbued with the fear and love of God, should have discovered the legitimate and pernicious consequences of Calvin's doctrine of the Divine sovereignty.

The authority also on which the professor relies for these particulars respecting Arminius, is at least of an equivocal character. Bayle was a professed skeptic, and as such was no doubt a believer in the doctrine of fatality; and hence he would naturally be inclined to pour contempt on, or at least to find a fault if possible in the man who did so much to undermine the foundation of his skepticism. All, we believe, with the exception of this infidel writer, (Bayle,) who have impartially searched into the character of Arminius, allow that he was no less remarkable for his humility and love of truth than he was for his commanding ability and profound erudition. Nor do we believe that if his antagonists had been possessed of a kindred spirit, the Church would ever have suffered so 'much disturbance,' nor Arminius himself have been afflicted with that 'scandal and sorrow,' which came upon him and upon the Church without his fault. We believe, moreover, that thousands will bless God for ever, that He raised up such a man

as *James Arminius* and made him instrumental in clearing away the mists which the objectionable features of Calvinism had collected around the character of God.

AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

Journal of an Expedition to explore the source and termination of the Niger : with a Narrative of a voyage down that river to its termination. By Richard and John Lander. Illustrated with engravings and maps. In two volumes, 18mo. Vol. i, 384, vol. ii, 366 pages.

AFRICA,* though connected with the continent of Asia by the isthmus of Suez, by a neck of land about sixty miles in breadth, lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Gulf, has been reckoned one of the four great continents into which the world is divided. In point of size it ranks next to Asia and America. It forms an immense peninsula, being united to Asia by the isthmus just mentioned, bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, which separates it from Europe, on the west by the Atlantic, which separates it from America, on the south by the Southern Ocean, on the east by the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and part of Asia. It stretches from Cape Bona in the Mediterranean on the north to the Cape of Good Hope in the south, comprehending about 70 deg. of latitude, or 4980 miles ; and from Cape Verd on the west to Cape Guardafui east, about 68 deg. of longitude, or somewhat more than 4790 miles.

Though the northern parts of Africa, comprehending Egypt, Ethiopia, and Carthagina, were well known to the ancients, yet the southern regions, particularly the interior provinces, have never been accurately surveyed even to this day. Herodotus seems to have been well acquainted with those countries from Mount Atlas to Ethiopia ; but his knowledge of the central parts of the country was extremely limited, as his inaccurate accounts of it evidently show.

The striking diversity of appearance by which the inhabitants of different parts of Africa are distinguished from each other, and the negroes from all the rest of mankind, would naturally lead us into a discussion concerning its original population ; but history furnishes us with no facts sufficient to direct us in this interesting inquiry. The northern and eastern regions probably received their first inhabitants from the adjacent coasts of Asia. A general resemblance in feature,

* Various conjectures have been entertained respecting the etymology of the name given to this country ; but the most plausible appears to be that of Servius, who derives it from the Greek *a priv.* or *not*, and *φοικη*, *cold*, *not cold*, which is certainly expressive of that burning climate by which most parts of Africa are distinguished.

in manners, and in some of their religious tenets, seems to indicate an affinity between the Egyptians and the natives of Hindostan. The Abyssinians are evidently of Arabian extraction. Carthage was originally peopled by a colony from Tyre ; and Sallust, on the authority of Punic manuscripts, informs us, that other parts of the African coasts were colonized by Medes, Persians, and Armenians. The Romans, who extended their conquests in Africa as far as the river Niger, established in these fertile regions many flourishing colonies. When their empire was subverted by the northern barbarians, the Vandals passed from Spain into Africa ; and, after converting one of the richest and most populous countries in the world into a barren wilderness, erected there a kingdom which lasted for upward of a century. The north of Africa was, after that interval, subdued by Mohammedan Arabs, who, under the name of Moors, form now a great proportion of its population. Among the mountains of Barbary there is a race of men distinct from the Moors in the plains, of a fair complexion, thin, light, and active. Though a pastoral people, their sentiments are lofty, their manners are more elegant, and their morals less licentious than those of the Moors. Berberia, the ancient name of Barbary, may easily be traced to Breber, the appellation by which these people are still distinguished ; and from many other circumstances, it is probable that they are the most ancient inhabitants of this part of Africa ; and have mingled so little with foreigners, that they retain much of their original appearance. On the southern frontiers of Morocco, there is a tribe apparently the same with the Brebers, known by the name of Shellu, who speak a language of their own, which is supposed to be derived from the ancient Punic. They correspond almost exactly to the description of the Mauritenians, given by the Roman writers ; and are said still to denominate Europeans by a name that sounds like Roumi. The countries south of Sahara, or the great desert, are inhabited by the negroes, apparently a distinct and indigenous race.*

* We by no means concur in the opinion expressed above respecting the indigenous origin of these people, as it savors too much of infidelity, and is moreover unphilosophical. The difference of color may, we think, be accounted for from difference of climate, habits, and modes of living. That the climate has great influence in forming the color of the skin is manifest even in our own country. Compare, for instance, the hands of a man who is accustomed to labor in the open air, with those of another who is kept chiefly in-doors, and never goes out without defending his skin from the atmosphere by wearing gloves, and there is as great a difference between the one and the other as there is between the skin of the laboring man and that of an African. Look also at those families who are brought up in habits of idleness, filth, and rags, exposed much to the rays of a burning sun, and what a difference in their whole appearance from those of cleanly and orderly habits.

As to the unmeaning physiognomy of some of the Africans, it arises, we believe, altogether from want of mental culture and from a barbarous custom practised upon

No cause, but an original difference of conformation, can well account for that peculiarity of appearance which so remarkably distinguishes them from the inhabitants of every other country, though placed under similar latitudes, and as burning a sun ; and which remains invariable in the negro race, whatever may be the change of their situation, or their mode of life. Some nations of a copper color, with lank hair, have recently been discovered in the interior ; but so imperfectly is this country known, that scarcely a probable conjecture can be given concerning their origin.

The Carthaginians, an active and enterprising people, penetrated by land into several of the interior provinces, with some of which they established a commercial intercourse, while others they subjected to their empire. They sailed along the western coast almost to the tropic of Cancer ; and planting several colonies, endeavored to civilize the rude natives, and accustom them to trade.

A more wonderful voyage was afterward said to have been performed by the Phœnicians, which, though the account of it was regarded as fabulous by some, subsequent discoveries have confirmed to be true ; for they affirmed that when sailing around Africa, *they had the sun on the right hand*. But notwithstanding these voyages and discoveries, Africa was very little known to the ancients, even by men of the most extensive erudition, for Polybius, the most learned and intelligent historian of antiquity, informs us that in his time it was not ascertained whether Africa was a continued continent, stretching toward the south, or whether it was surrounded by the sea. Strabo was equally ignorant of its form, and Ptolemy, the most inquisitive and best informed of the ancient geographers, supposed that it stretched without interruption to the south pole ; and he so far mistook its figure, that he describes it as becoming broader and broader toward the south.

After the downfall of the Roman empire, Africa was scarcely known to Europeans, until the accidental discovery of the Canary Islands excited a general spirit of adventure, increased and aided as it was by

them in their infancy, as they are naturally as shrewd as any other race of people ; and in those places where the arts and sciences were once cultivated, they produced men as eminent in the walks of literature as any other part of the world. And the facts disclosed by recent travellers in Africa give us honorable examples of native shrewdness, though the individuals lacked that polish which education gives, and of as high and delicate feeling, as are to be found in more civilized countries.

As to the indigenous origin of the Africans, it is but a repetition of what Tacitus affirms of the aborigines of Germany, when speaking of their barbarous manners. The fact is, 'God made of one blood all the nations of the earth,' and hence whatever difference may now appear among the several tribes of men, is doubtless owing to climate, to education, to modes of living, to the influence of religious sentiments, rites, and customs, and to other accidental causes which might be named.

the invention of the mariner's compass. It was not, however, till the fifteenth century, that the boldness of enterprise, which the improving skill in navigation inspired, and the ardent curiosity natural to minds just emerging from ignorance, and expanding with more enlarged ideas, suggested regular plans of discovery, which at length conducted the navigator to a new world, and to regions hitherto unexplored. The Portuguese took the lead in this career. John I. of Portugal equipped a large armament to attack the Moors on the coast of Barbary; and the vessels sent on this expedition passed the dreaded promontory of Cape Non, and proceeded as far as Cape Bojador, 160 miles beyond any former navigators. The breakers, which dashed with tremendous fury over the cliffs of Bojador, projecting far into the Atlantic, prevented them from attempting to sail around this frightful cape. Still more vigorous efforts were made by the enthusiastic ardor of Henry, fourth son of John, who succeeded in doubling the Cape of Bojador, in discovering the island of Madeira, and finally of advancing within the tropics: the ships discovered the river Senegal, and explored all the coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to the Cape de Verd. John II. of Portugal prosecuted with ardor this enterprise. He sent a powerful fleet, which discovered the kingdoms of Banin and Congo, and advanced 1500 miles beyond the equinoctial line, where the adventurers beheld with astonishment a new heaven filled with stars which they had never before seen; and with a view to secure these newly-discovered countries, this enterprising monarch planted colonies on the coast of Guinea, entered into commercial connections with its more powerful sovereigns, rendered others vassals to him; and by a regular and well digested system of policy, established upon a solid foundation, the power and commerce of the Portuguese in Africa. These discoveries rendered the account of the Phœnician voyage, which had been considered by the ancients as fabulous because they reported that they had seen the *sun on their right*, highly probable, and confuted the theory of Ptolemy, who had hitherto been considered as an oracle among geographers, that Africa grew broader and broader toward the south.

Being now fully convinced that the southern point of Africa terminated in the ocean, this monarch fitted out another fleet, under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, whose intelligence and boldness well qualified him for the adventurous enterprise. After encountering a variety of hardships, from storms and tempests, the loss of one of his ships, and from the mutinous conduct of his crew, and discovering more than a thousand miles of new country, he descried the lofty promontory by which Africa is terminated in the south; but the increased violence of the storms, and the shattered state of his ships, prevented him from sailing around it: to commemorate the hardships he had en-

countered in these hitherto unknown seas, he called the promontory *Cabo Tormentoso* or the *Stormy Cape*. But his sovereign, confident that he had found a passage around this continent, and of course a passage to India, gave it the name of *Cape of Good Hope*, a name which it has ever since retained.

Intent upon accomplishing the object of his wishes in finding a passage in this direction to India, the monarch sent out another fleet under the command of Vasquez de Gama, who, after struggling for months with contrary winds, succeeded in passing the southern point of Africa, explored its eastern shores as far as Melinda, in Zanzibar, and sailing thence for India, arrived at Calicut on the 22d of May, 1498, about six years after Columbus had discovered the continent of America. But while this passage opened a lucrative trade to India, it merely opened a way to Africa for the commencement of the detestable slave trade, by which the several nations of Europe have so generally disgraced themselves, and entailed upon their posterity a curse of the most tremendous magnitude.

These discoveries, however, gave but an imperfect knowledge of the geography of Southern Africa, except a few lines along its coast. Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, had to be sure long been known, and an acquaintance with Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, was much enlarged by the communications of Norden and Bruce.

Such was the state of African geography, when an *association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa*, was formed by a number of enterprising English gentlemen. The first person they employed in their service was Ledyard, an American, who had spent several years among our American Indians, and afterward accompanied Capt. Cook in his voyage around the world. Impelled on by a spirit of enterprise he had also travelled through various countries of Europe and Asia, suffering almost incredible hardships, and finally arrived in England just in time to offer himself as the first adventurer, under the auspices of the African association, into the interior of Africa. But though actuated by the most generous and ardent enthusiasm in this cause, and fully competent for the task, he failed in his expectations. Having arrived at Cairo in Egypt, he became so vexed with the tedious delays of the caravan with which he was to travel, that he brought on a fever of which he died in a few days. But though his progress was thus cut short, he had collected much useful information from such as had travelled into the interior of Africa, which he communicated to his employers, and which tended to increase the desire and the facilities for farther discoveries.

The next adventurer in this perilous enterprise was Mr. Lucas, who had been three years in captivity at the coast of Morocco, and after his

liberation sixteen years as vice consul and charge d' affairs in the empire of Morocco. He succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Africa as far as Mesurata ; but not being able to advance that season to Fezzan, according to his expectations, he returned to Tripoli, and thence to England. On the 16th of October, 1790, Major Houghton sailed from England under the direction of the association, and on the 10th of November arrived at the entrance of the River Gambia. After travelling through many difficulties and dangers, being robbed of his baggage by the son of the king of Bambouk, and afterward falling into the hands of some treacherous Moors, who robbed him of the little he had left, he was left to perish at a place called Tarra, near the great desert of Sahara.

Not discouraged by these disasters, the association next engaged Mungo Park in their service, a brave and ingenuous man, well fitted for such an enterprise. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 22d of May, 1795, and arrived at Jillifree, a town on the northern bank of the Gambia, after a pleasant voyage of thirty days. The account of his travels, his hardships and sufferings, is well known. For eighteen months he travelled in the hottest, the wildest, and most unfriendly regions of Africa, encountering dangers and enduring distress under which a mind less firm and a constitution less vigorous must have sunk. We cannot but admire the heroism displayed by this enterprising traveller in those inhospitable regions, even after he was stripped of every thing he possessed, and was obliged to beg his way among strangers—and these strangers often of the most barbarous and unfeeling character. He penetrated about 1100 miles in a direct line from Cape de Verd, and added much useful information respecting the geography of Africa. His second voyage terminated fatally to himself, and deprived the world of that rich increase of knowledge respecting many of the interior regions of this vast continent, which the genius, the enterprise, and the diligence of this scientific adventurer might have furnished, had his life been spared.

Horneman, a young German, was next sent out to explore the country, but was less successful than Park, as no authentic information has been received of his fate. He doubtless perished either by famine, fever, or by the hands of an assassin. Considerable acquisition to the knowledge of African geography was afterward made by the adventures of Mr. Browne, who travelled in the western parts of the country.* One grand object of all these travellers was to ascertain the source of the river Niger, and then to trace it to its termination in the ocean or elsewhere, and to note the various kingdoms bordering

* See New Edinburgh Encyclopedia, under the article Africa, whence the above facts are principally taken, though in an abridged form.

on that celebrated river, as well as the number and general character of the inhabitants.

In 1821 another expedition was undertaken under the sanction of the British government, by Major Denham and Lieutenant Clapperton. They advanced by the way of Tripoli to Mourzouk on the borders of the great desert; and from thence Major Denham, in company with an Arab chief, by the name of Boo Khalloom, passed through a part of this dreary desert. After travelling through these arid wastes for two weeks they discovered signs of returning life, and were much cheered at the prospect of being again in a cultivated country. They finally entered the most northern province of Bornou, where they saw the great interior sea of Africa, the Lake Tchad, *glowing with golden rays of the sun*. The caravan marched along the shores of this lake for two days and then arrived at a large town called Woodie. They journeyed thence to Kouka, passing through Angornou, the largest city in the kingdom of Bornou, containing not less than 30,000 inhabitants. Bornou forms an extensive plain, stretching along the western shore of the immense Lake Tchad for 200 miles and nearly the same distance inland. We present the following account of an expedition undertaken by the party, in conjunction with some of the natives, which was detailed by Major Denham:—

‘ Boo Khalloom, having despatched his affairs in Bornou, wished to turn his journey to some farther account, and proposed an expedition into the more wealthy and commercial region of Houssa or Soudan; but the eager wishes of his followers pointed to a different object. They called upon him to lead them into the mountains of Mandara in the south, to attack a village of the kerdies, or unbelievers, and carry off the people as slaves to Fezzan. He long stood out against this nefarious proposal; but the sheik, who also had his own views, took part against him; even his own brother joined the malecontents, and at length there appeared no other mode in which he could return with equal credit and profit. Influenced by these inducements, he suffered his better judgment to be overpowered, and determined to conduct his troop upon this perilous and guilty excursion. Major Denham, allowing his zeal for discovery to overcome other considerations, contrived, notwithstanding the prohibition of the sheik, to be one of the party. They were accompanied by Barca Gana, the principal general, a negro of huge strength and great courage, along with other warriors, and a large body of Bornou cavalry. These last are a fine military body in point of external appearance. Their persons are covered with iron plate and mail, and they manage, with surprising dexterity, their little active steeds, which are also supplied with defensive armor. They have one fault only, but that a serious one,—they cannot stand the shock of an enemy. While the contest continues doubtful, they hover round as spectators, ready, should the tide turn against them, to spur on their coursers to a rapid flight; but if they see their friends victo-

rious, and the enemy turning their backs, they come forward and display no small vigor in pursuit and plunder.

The road that led to Mandara formed a continued ascent through a fertile country which contained some populous towns. The path being quite overgrown with thick and prickly underwood, twelve pioneers went forward with long poles, opening a track, pushing back the branches, and giving warning to beware of holes. These operations they accompanied with loud praises of Barca Gana, calling out,—“Who is in battle like the rolling of thunder? Barca Gana. In battle, who spreads terror around him like the buffalo in his rage? Barca Gana.” Even the chiefs on this expedition carried no provisions except a paste of rice, flour, and honey, with which they contented themselves, unless when sheep could be procured; in which case half the animal, roasted over a frame work of wood, was placed on the table, and the sharpest dagger present was employed in cutting it into large pieces, to be eaten without bread or salt. At length they approached Mora, the capital of Mandara. This was another kingdom which the energy of its present sultan had rescued from the yoke of the Fellata empire; and the strong position of its capital, enclosed by lofty ridges of hills, had enabled it to defy repeated attacks. It consists of a fine plain, bordered on the south by an immense and almost interminable range of mountains. The eminences directly in front were not quite so lofty as the hills of Cumberland, but bold, rocky, and precipitous, and distant summits appeared towering much higher, and shooting up a line of sharp pinnacles resembling the needles of Mont Blanc. It was reported, that two months were required to cross their greatest breadth and reach the other side, where they rose ten times higher, and were called large *moon* mountains. They there overlooked the plain of Adamowa, through which the Quolla (or Niger) was said to flow from the westward. The hills immediately in view were thickly clustered with villages perched on their sides and even on their tops, and were distinctly seen from the plain of Mandara. They were occupied by half savage tribes, whom the ferocious bigotry of the nations occupying the low country branded as pagans, and whom they claimed a right to plunder, seize, and drive in crowds for sale to the markets of Fezzan and Bornou. “The fires, which were visible in the different nests of these unfortunate beings, threw a glare upon the bold rocks and blunt promontories of granite by which they were surrounded, and produced a picturesque and somewhat awful appearance.” A baleful joy gleamed in the visage of the Arabs as they eyed these abodes of their future victims, whom they already fancied themselves driving in bands across the desert. A kerdy village to plunder was all their cry, and Boo Khalloom doubted not that he would be able to gratify their wishes. Their common fear of the Fellatas had united the sultan of Mandara in close alliance with the sheik, to whom he had lately married his daughter; and the nuptials had been celebrated by a great slave hunt among the mountains, when, after a dreadful struggle, three thousand captives, by their tears and bondage, furnished out the materials of a magnificent marriage festival.

The expedition obtained a reception quite as favorable as had been expected. In approaching the capital they were met by the sultan

with 500 Mandara horse, who, charging full speed, wheeled round them with the same threatening movements which had been exhibited at Bornou. The horses were of a superior breed, most skilfully managed, and covered with cloths of various colors, as well as with skins of the leopard and tiger-cat. This cavalry made of course a very brilliant appearance; but the Major did not yet know that their valor was exactly on a level with that of their Bornou allies. The party were then escorted to the capital, amid the music of long pipes like clarionets, and of two immense trumpets. They were introduced next day. The mode of approaching the royal residence is to gallop up to the gate with a furious speed, which often causes fatal accidents; and on this occasion a man was ridden down and killed on the spot. The sultan was found in a dark blue tent, sitting on a mud bench, surrounded by about two hundred attendants, handsomely arrayed in silk and cotton robes. He was an intelligent little man, about fifty years old, with a beard dyed sky blue. Courteous salutations were exchanged; during which he steadily eyed Major Denham, concerning whom he at last inquired; and the traveller was advantageously introduced as belonging to a powerful distant nation, allies of the bashaw of Tripoli. At last, however, came the fatal question,—“Is he Moslem?—*La! la!*—no! no!—What! has the great bashaw Caffre friends?” Every eye was instantly averted; the sun of Major Denham’s favor was set; and he was never more allowed to enter the palace.

The bigotry of this court seems to have surpassed even the usual bitterness of the African tribes, and our traveller had to undergo a regular persecution, carried on especially by Malem Chadily, the leading fighi or doctor of the court. As Major Denham was showing to the admiring chiefs the mode of writing with a pencil, and effacing it with Indian rubber, Malem wrote some words of the Koran with such force that the rubber could not wholly remove the traces of them. He then exclaimed with triumph, “They are the words of God, delivered to his prophet; I defy you to erase them.” The major was then called upon to acknowledge this great miracle; and, as his countenance still expressed incredulity, he was viewed with looks of such mingled contempt and indignation as induced him to retire. Malem, however, again assailed him with the assurance that this was only one of the many miracles which he could show as wrought by the Koran; imploring him to turn, and paradise would be his, otherwise nothing could save him from eternal fire. “O!” said he, “while sitting in the third heaven I shall see you in the midst of the flames, crying out to your friend Barca Gana and myself for a drop of water; but the gulf will be between us:” his tears then flowed profusely. The major, taking the general aside, entreated to be relieved from this incessant persecution; but Gana assured him that the fighi was a great and holy man, to whom he ought to listen. He then held out not only paradise, but honors, slaves, and wives of the first families, as gifts to be lavished on him by the sheik if he would renounce his unbelief. Major Denham asked the commander, what would be thought of himself if he should go to England and turn Christian? “God forbid!” exclaimed he; “but how can you compare our faiths; mine would

lead you to paradise, while yours would bring me to hell. Not a word more." Nothing appears to have annoyed the stranger more than to be told that he was of the same faith with the kerdies or savages; little distinction being made between any who denied the Koran. After a long discussion of this question, he thought the validity of his reasoning would be admitted, when he could point to a party of those wretches devouring a dead horse, and appealed to Boo Khalloom if he had ever seen the English do the same; but to this, which was not after all a very deep theological argument, the Arab replied,—“I know they eat the flesh of swine, and, God knows, that is worse.” “Grant me patience,” exclaimed I to myself,—“this is almost too much to bear and to remain silent.”

The unfortunate kerdies, from the moment that they saw Arab tents in the valley of Mandara, knew the dreadful calamity which awaited them. To avert it, and to propitiate the sultan, numerous parties came down with presents of honey, asses, and slaves. Finally appeared the Musgow, a more distant and savage race, mounted on small fiery steeds, covered only with the skin of a goat or leopard, and with necklaces made of the teeth of their enemies. They threw themselves at the feet of the sultan, casting sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The monarch, apparently moved by these gifts and entreaties, began to intimate to Boo Khalloom his hopes that these savages might by gentle means be reclaimed and led to embrace the true faith. These hopes were held by the latter in the utmost derision; and he privately assured Major Denham that nothing would more annoy this devout Mussulman than to see them fulfilled, whereby he must have forfeited all right to drive these unhappy creatures in crowds to the markets of Soudan and Bornou. In fact, both the sultan and the sheik had a much deeper aim. Every effort was used to induce Boo Khalloom to engage in the attack of some strong Fellata posts, by which the country was hemmed in; and as the two monarchs viewed the Arabs with extreme jealousy, it was strongly suspected that their defeat would not have been regarded as a public calamity. The royal councils were secret and profound, and it was not known what influences worked upon Boo Khalloom. On this occasion unfortunately he was mastered by his evil genius, and consented to the proposed attack; but as he came out and ordered his troops to prepare for marching, his countenance bore such marks of trouble that the Major asked if all went well? to which he hurriedly answered, “Please God.” The Arabs, however, who at all events expected plunder, proceeded with alacrity.

The expedition set out next morning, and, after passing through a beautiful plain, began to penetrate the mighty chain of mountains which form the southern border of the kingdom. Alpine heights, rising around them in rugged magnificence and gigantic grandeur, presented scenery which our traveller had never seen surpassed. The passes of Hairey and of Horza, amid a superb amphitheatre of hills, closely shut in by overhanging cliffs, more than two thousand feet high, were truly striking. Here, for the first time in Africa, did nature appear to the English to revel in the production of vegetable life. The trees were covered with luxuriant and bright green foliage; and their

trunks were hidden by a crowd of parasitical plants, whose aromatic blossoms perfumed the air. There was also an abundance of animal life of a less agreeable description : three scorpions were killed in the tent ; and a fierce but beautiful panther, more than eight feet long, just as he had gorged himself by sucking the blood of a newly-killed negro, was attacked and speared. The sultan and Barca Gana were attended by a considerable body of Bornou and Mandara cavalry, whose brilliant armor, martial aspect, and skilful horsemanship gave confidence to the European officer, who had not yet seen them put to the proof.

It was the third day when the expedition came in view of the Fellata town of Dirkulla. The Arabs, supported by Barca Gana and about a hundred spearmen, marched instantly to the attack, and carried first that place, and then a smaller town beyond it, killing all who had not time to escape. The enemy, however, then intrenched themselves in a third and stronger position, called Musfeia, enclosed by high hills, and fortified in front by numerous swamps and palisades. This was likewise attacked, and all its defences forced. The guns of the Arabs spread terror, while Barca Gana threw eight spears with his own hand, every one of which took effect. It was thought, that had the two bodies of cavalry made even a show of advancing, the victory would have been at once decided ; but Major Denham was much surprised to see those puissant warriors keeping carefully under cover behind a hill on the opposite side of the stream, where not an arrow could reach them. The Fellatas, seeing that their antagonists were only a handful, rallied on the tops of the hills, were joined by new troops, and turned round. Their women behind, cheering them on, continually supplied fresh arrows, and rolled down fragments of rock on the assailants. These arrows were fatal ; they were tipped with poison, and wherever they pierced the body in a few hours became black, blood gushed from every orifice, and the victim expired in agony. The condition of the Arabs soon became alarming ; scarcely a man was left unhurt, and their horses were dying under them. Boo Khalloom and his charger were both wounded with poisoned arrows. As soon as the Fellatas saw the Arabs waver, they dashed in with their horse ; at sight of which all the heroic squadrons of Bornou and Mandara put spurs to their steeds, the sultan at their head, and the whole became one mass of confused and tumultuous flight. Major Denham saw too late the peril into which he had wantonly plunged. His horse, pierced to the shoulder bone, could scarcely support his weight ; but the cries of the pursuing Fellatas still urged him forward. At last the animal fell twice, and the second time threw him against a tree, then, frightened by the noise behind, started up and ran off. The Fellatas were instantly up, when four of his companions were stabbed beside him, uttering the most frightful cries. He himself was fully prepared for the same fate ; but happily his clothes formed a valuable booty, through which the savages were loath to run their spears. After inflicting some slight wounds, therefore, they stripped him to the skin, and forthwith began to quarrel about the plunder. While they were thus busied, he contrived to slip away, and though hotly pursued, and nearly overtaken, succeeded in reaching a mountain stream gliding at the bottom of a deep and precipitous ravine. Here he had snatched the young branches

issuing from the stump of a large overhanging tree, in order to let himself down into the water, when, beneath his hand, a large *liffa*, the most dangerous serpent in this country, rose from its coil, as in the very act of darting upon him. Struck with horror, Major Denham lost all recollection, and fell headlong into the water; but the shock revived him, and, with three strokes of his arm, he reached the opposite bank, and felt himself for the moment in safety. Running forward, he was delighted to see his friends Barca Gana and Boo Khalloom; but amid the cheers with which they were endeavoring to rally their troops, and the cries of those who were falling under the Fellata spears, he could not for some time make himself heard. Then Maramy, a negro appointed by the sheik to attend on him, rode up and took him on his own horse. Boo Khalloom ordered a burnouse to be thrown over him,—very seasonably, for the burning sun had begun to blister his naked body. Suddenly, however, Maramy called out, "See, see! Boo Khalloom is dead!" and that spirited chief, overpowered by the wound of a poisoned arrow, dropped from his horse, and spoke no more. The others now thought only of pressing their flight, and soon reached a stream, where they refreshed themselves by copious draughts, and a halt was made to collect the stragglers. Major Denham here fell into a swoon; during which, as he afterward learned, Maramy complained that the jaded horse could scarcely carry the stranger forward, when Barca Gana said, "By the head of the prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day; why should we concern ourselves about a Christian's death?" Malem Chadily, however, so bitter as a theological opponent, showed now the influence of a milder spirit, and said, "No, God has preserved him; let us not abandon him;" and Maramy declared, "His heart told him what to do."—They therefore moved on slowly till about midnight, when they passed the Mandara frontier in a state of severe suffering; but the Major met with much kindness from a dethroned prince, Mai Meegamy, who, seeing his wounds festering under the rough woollen cloak which formed his only covering, took off his own trowsers and gave them to him.

The Arabs had lost forty-five of their number, beside their chief; the rest were in a miserable plight, most of them wounded, some mortally, and all having lost their camels and the rest of their property. Renouncing their pride, they were obliged to supplicate from Barca Gana a handful of corn to keep them from starving. The sultan of Mandara, in whose cause they had suffered, treated them with the utmost contumely, which perhaps they might deserve, but certainly not from him. Deep sorrow was afterward felt in Fezzan when they arrived in this deplorable condition and reported the fall of their chief, who was there almost idolized. A national song was composed on the occasion, which the following extract will show to be marked by great depth of feeling, and not altogether devoid of poetical beauty:—

"O! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the unbeliever prevails!

Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe? Even as the moon among the little stars, so was Boo Khalloom among men! Where shall Fezzan now look for her protector?

Men hang their heads in sorrow, while women wring their hands, rending the air with their cries! As a shepherd is to his flock, so was Boo Khalloom to Fezzan!

Give him songs! Give him music! What words can equal his praise? His heart was as large as the desert! His coffers were like the rich overflowings from the udder of the she camel, comforting and nourishing those around him!

Even as the flowers without rain perish in the fields, so will the Fezzaners droop; for Boo Khalloom returns no more!

His body lies in the land of the heathen! The poisoned arrow of the unbeliever prevails!

O! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the heathen conquers! Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe?" (*Discovery and Adventure in Africa*, pp. 146-155.)

The failure of this expedition could not be otherwise than mortifying to those who so eagerly and imprudently engaged in it. While Major Denham pursued his journeys in different directions in the kingdom of Bornou, Mr. Clapperton and his party left Kouka for the kingdom of Houssa, and on his way buried one of his companions in travel, Dr. Oudney, who died of the consumption. The following account of the remainder of Mr. Clapperton's first adventure will, we doubt not, be highly entertaining to the reader:—

‘From Kano he set out under the guidance of Mohammed Jollie, leader of an extensive caravan intended for Sackatoo, capital of the sultan of the Fellatas. The country was perhaps the finest in Africa, being under high cultivation, diversified with groves of noble trees, and traversed in a picturesque manner by ridges of granite. The manners of the people, too, were pleasing and pastoral. At many clear springs gushing from the rocks young women were drawing water. As an excuse for engaging in talk, our traveller asked several times for the means of quenching his thirst. “Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying at the same time teeth of pearly whiteness, and eyes of the blackest lustre, they presented a gourd, and appeared highly delighted when I thanked them for their civility, remarking to one another, ‘Did you hear the white man thank me?’” But the scene was changed when the traveller reached the borders of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, which were in a state of rebellion against Sackatoo. The utmost alarm at that moment prevailed; men and women, with their bullocks, asses, and camels, all struggled to be foremost, every one crying out, “Wo to the wretch that falls behind! he will be sure to meet an unhappy end at the hands of the Gooberites.” There was danger even of being thrown down and trampled to death by the bullocks, which were furiously rushing backward and forward; however, through the unremitting care of the escort, Clapperton made his way safely, though not without much fatigue and annoyance, along this perilous frontier.

On the 16th March, 1824, after passing through the hilly district of Kamoon, the valleys began to open, and crowds of people were seen

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thronging to market with wood, onions, indigo, and other commodities. This indicated the approach to Sackatoo, which they soon saw from the top of a hill, and entered about noon. A multitude flocked to see the white stranger, and received him with cheers of welcome. The sultan was not yet returned from a ghrazzie or slave hunt; but the gadado, or minister, performed handsomely the honors of the place. Next day the chief arrived, and instantly sent for Clapperton. The palace, as usual in Africa, consisted of a sort of enclosed town, with an open quadrangle in front. The stranger, on entering the gate, was conducted through three huts serving as guard houses, after which he found Sultan Bello seated on a small carpet in a sort of painted and ornamented cottage. Bello had a noble and commanding figure, with a high forehead and large black eyes. He gave the traveller a hearty welcome, and, after inquiring the particulars of his journey, proceeded to serious affairs. He produced books belonging to Major Denham, which had been taken in the disastrous battle of Dirkullah; and, though he expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction at the major's presence on that occasion, readily accepted an apology, and restored the volumes. He only asked to have the subject of each explained, and to hear the sound of the language, which he declared to be beautiful. He then began to press his visiter with theological questions, and showed himself not wholly unacquainted with the controversies which have agitated the Christian world; indeed he soon went beyond the depth of his visiter, who was obliged to own that he was not versant in the abstruser mysteries of divinity.

The sultan now opened a frequent and familiar communication with the English envoy, in which he showed himself possessed of a good deal of information. The astronomical instruments, from which, as from implements of magic, many of his attendants started with horror, were examined by the monarch with an intelligent eye. On being shown the planisphere, he proved his knowledge of the planets, and even of many of the constellations, by repeating their Arabic names. The telescope, which presented objects inverted—the compass, by which he could always turn to the east in praying—and the sextant, which he called “the looking glass of the sun,” excited peculiar interest. Being desirous to see an observation performed with the latter instrument, Clapperton, who had lost the key of the artificial horizon, asked a dagger to break it open; upon which the sultan started, and half drew his sword, trembling like an aspen leaf. The other very prudently took no notice of this excitement, but quietly opened his box, when the exhibition soon dispelled all unfavorable impressions. The sultan, however, inquired with evident jealousy into some points of English history that had come to his knowledge; as, the conquest of India, which the traveller endeavored to represent as a mere arrangement to protect the natives, and particularly the Moslem population. The attack on Algiers being also alluded to, was justly declared to have been made solely on account of her atrocious piracies.

Sackatoo appeared to Mr. Clapperton the most populous city he had seen in the interior of Africa. The houses stand more closely together than in most other towns of Houssa, and are laid out in regularly well built streets. It is surrounded by a wall between twenty and thirty

feet high, with twelve gates, which are punctually shut at sunset. The dwellings of the principal inhabitants consist of clusters of cottages and flat-roofed houses, in the Moorish style, enclosed by high walls. There are two mosques, one of which, then in progress of building, was 800 feet long, adorned with numerous pillars of wood plastered with clay, and highly ornamented.

Mr. Clapperton, desirous to accomplish what had all along been his main object, solicited a guide to the western countries and the Gulf of Benin. By this route he might investigate the course of the Niger and the fate of Park; he might also pave the way for a commercial intercourse, which would be of some benefit to Britain, and of great advantage to Africa. The sultan at first gave assurances of permission and aid in travelling through every part of his dominions; but when our countryman specified Nyffe on the banks of the Niger, Youri where the papers of Park were reported to be kept, Rakah and Fundah, where that river was said to fall into the sea, the courtiers began to demur. Professing tender solicitude for his safety, they represented that the season was becoming unfavorable, and that rebellion and civil war were raging to such a pitch in these countries as to make even the mighty protection of Sultan Bello insufficient for his security. Clapperton strongly suspected that this unfavorable change was produced by the machinations of the Arabs, and particularly of Mohammed Gomsoo, their chief, notwithstanding the warm professions of friendship made by that personage. They apprehended, probably, that were a communication opened with the western coast, interior Africa might be supplied with European goods by that shorter route, instead of being brought by themselves across the desert. Perhaps these suspicions were groundless; for the state of the country was afterward found to be, if possible, worse than had been described, and the ravages of the Fellatas so terrible, that any one coming from among them was likely to experience a very disagreeable reception. Indeed, it may be suspected that the sultan must have been a good deal embarrassed by the simplicity with which his guest listened to his pompous boasting as to the extent of his empire, and by the earnestness with which he entreated him to name one of his seaports where the English might land, when it is certain that he had not a town which was not some hundred miles distant from the coast. To prevent the disclosure of this fact, which must have taken place had our traveller proceeded in that direction, might be an additional motive for refusing his sanction. In short, it was finally announced to Clapperton, that no escort could be found to accompany him on so rash an enterprise, and that he could return to England only by retracing his steps.

Here the traveller obtained an account of Mr. Park's death, very closely corresponding with the statement given by Amadi Fatouma. The Niger, it appears, called here the Quorra, after passing Timbuctoo, turns to the south, and continues to flow in that direction till it crosses the parallel of Sackatoo, at only a few days' journey to the westward; but whether it reaches the sea, or, making an immense circuit, becomes the Shary, and pours itself into the immense basin of the Tchad, are points on which his informants varied greatly.

Returning by a different route, Mr. Clapperton visited Zirmie, the

capital of Zamfra, a kind of outlawed city, the inhabitants of which are esteemed the greatest rogues in Houssa, and where all runaway slaves find protection. He passed also through Kashna or Cassina, the metropolis of a kingdom which, till the late rise of the Fellata power, had ruled over all Africa from Bornou to the Niger. In its present subject and fallen state, the inhabited part does not cover a tenth of the wide circuit enclosed by its walls; yet a considerable trade is still carried on with the Tuaricks, or with caravans coming across the desert by the route of Ghadamis and Tuat. Here our traveller met with much kindness from Hadgi Ahmet, a powerful and wealthy Arab chief, who even took him into his seraglio, and desired him, out of fifty black damsels, to make his choice,—a complaisance, nothing resembling which had ever before been shown by a Mussulman. But our countryman, being indisposed, only picked out an ancient maiden to serve as a nurse.

Mr. Clapperton rejoined Major Denham at Kouka, whence they set out, and recrossed the desert together in the latter part of the year 1824. They reached Tripoli in January, 1825, and soon after embarked for Leghorn; but being detained by contrary winds and quarantine regulations, did not reach London till the month of June.' (*Ibid.* pp. 166–170.)

Mr. Clapperton, now raised to a captain, was induced to undertake a second journey, in company with Captain Pearce, an excellent draftsman, and Mr. Morrison, a naval surgeon, and Mr. Richard Lander, whose journal of observation is now before us. Instead of pursuing the route they before took, they went directly to the Gulf of Benin; and on the 7th of December, 1825, the mission set out from Badagray for the interior of Africa. Clapperton was soon deprived of the services of Pearce and Morrison, who contracted the fever of the country by imprudently sleeping in the open air, of which they both died in a few days. Notwithstanding this severe loss at the outset of the voyage, Clapperton pursued his journey, having Pascoe, a native African, for a servant, and Richard Lander for his companion, and passing through the kingdom of Yarriba, and other populous kingdoms, he finally arrived at Boussa, a place chiefly interesting as the scene where the career of Mungo Park terminated in a manner so tragical. Every thing that he saw and heard tended to confirm former reports respecting that enterprising traveller having terminated his labors and life at this place: the king and all the people spoke of it with deep grief, disclaiming all personal concern in the transaction. Here Clapperton crossed the Niger and entered Nyffe, which he found in a distracted state on account of a desolating war which was raging from a dispute respecting the succession to the throne between two rival chiefs. He thence passed on to Zeg-zeg, a Fellata country, which he found beautifully variegated with hill and dale, covered over with rich pastures and plentiful crops, fine fields of rice, rows of tall trees, re-

sembling gigantic avenues of poplar, extending from hill to hill. But this intelligent and enterprising adventurer was doomed to lay his bones on the soil of Africa. The account of his death is so affecting that we give it as recorded in the account of his travels :—

‘The strong constitution of Clapperton had till this period enabled him to resist all the baneful influences of an African climate. He had recovered, though perhaps not completely, from the effects of the rash exposure which had proved fatal to his two companions ; but he had, when overcome with heat and fatigue, in hunting at Magaria, lain down on a damp spot in the open air, and was soon after seized with dysentery, which continued to assume more alarming symptoms. Indeed, after the seizure of the letter to the sultan of Bornou, he was never seen to smile, and in his sleep was heard addressing loud reproaches to the Arabs. Unable to rise from bed, and deserted by all his African friends, who saw him no longer a favorite at court, he was watched with tender care by his faithful servant Richard Lander, who devoted his whole time to attendance on his sick master. At length he called him to his bedside, and said, “Richard, I shall shortly be no more,—I feel myself dying.” Almost choked with grief, Lander replied, “God forbid, my dear master,—you will live many years yet.” But the other replied, “Don’t be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you ; it is the will of the Almighty, it cannot be helped.” He then gave particular directions as to the disposal of his papers, and of all that remained of his property ; to which strict attention was promised. “He then,” says Lander, “took my hand within his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, ‘My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago ; I can only thank you with my latest breath for your kindness and attachment to me ; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want ; but God will reward you.’” He still survived some days, and appeared even to rally a little ; but, one morning, Lander was alarmed by a peculiar rattling sound in his throat, and, hastening to the bedside, found him sitting up, and staring wildly around ; he laid his head gently on the dying man’s shoulder ; some indistinct words quivered on his lips ; he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh.’ (*Ib.* pp. 184, 185.)

Thus ended this expedition. Major Laing is next distinguished among the African adventurers. He penetrated as far as Timbuctoo, but on his return was basely murdered in crossing the desert. Caillié, a Frenchman, also penetrated through the country from Sierra Leone to Morocco, passing through Jenne and Timbuctoo, and was rewarded by the French government with a pension and the cross of the Legion of Honor for his services.

We come now to notice more particularly the adventurous journey of the Messrs. Landers, one of whom, Richard, as we have seen, accompanied Captain Clapperton on his last tour. The two brothers left England on the 9th of January, 1830, and on the 22d of the following

month arrived at Cape Coast Castle. They were plentifully provided with all necessary implements for their journey, and presents for those African sovereigns into whose kingdoms they might be introduced. It is not necessary to trace their journeyings from place to place, nor to record minutely the various rencounters they had with the natives, or the conversations they held with individuals. After a tedious and somewhat perilous journey, June 17th they came to the city of Boossa, which they found situated on the main land, on the bank of the Niger, and not an island in that river, as stated by Capt. Clapperton. They were welcomed to the city of Boossa by the king and his people, who informed them that they had just been weeping for the death of Capt. Clapperton. The next morning they visited the far-famed *Niger*, or *Quorra*, as it is called by the natives, and were greatly disappointed to find the river so narrow, it being, in its widest part at this place, not more than a stone's throw across. Seating themselves upon a rock which overlooks the place where Mungo Park perished, they reflected with melancholy emotions upon the number of valuable lives which had been sacrificed in attempting to explore this mighty river, and secretly implored the Almighty to make them the humble means of setting at rest the great question of its source and termination. At this place, and for about four days' passage up the river, the navigation is very dangerous, being impeded by large rocks and sand banks. Up this dangerous passage our travellers passed in a canoe which they had engaged for that purpose, to Yàoorie, the capital of a kingdom of that name. They found the city of Yàoorie of great extent, and the kingdom generally flourishing and united. Here they remained until August 2, when they left it on their return passage. While here they were informed by the Arabs and others who had passed through the city, that the Niger flows from a place called *Musser*, where silks and other fine articles are manufactured, and that the natives of that country trade to Timbuctoo in large vessels, carrying thither their silks and manufactures; but they could not ascertain from any one the distance between the two places, only that it was very great. Finding it impracticable to prosecute their journey any farther north, after being detained at Yàoorie until August 2, they set off on their return to Boossa.

'It is pleasant,' say they, 'very pleasant, after an imprisonment of five weeks in a close, dark, and unwholesome chamber, subject to every kind of inconvenience and much anxiety, to be set at liberty; to know and feel that one is free; to admire again the beauties of God's creation, and enjoy once more the cheering freshness of the country. It is only in health that such feelings can either be excited or indulged. Objects ever so charming are looked on with indifference by an invalid. For our parts, we had entered Yàoorie in sickness and had suffered much in that city; but we left it in all the strength and vigor of

health. During our residence there, the growth of vegetation had been astonishingly rapid; the face of the country wore an aspect entirely different and improved; the trees and shrubs had put on a greener and lovelier "livery;" the grasses, stunted as they were before for want of moisture, had sprung up to the surprising height of ten or twelve feet; and the corn and rice had grown up with no less vigor.' (*Landers' Discovery of the Termination of the Niger*, vol. i, p. 295.)

About mid-day they arrived at a considerable town called Guàda, and halted near a small creek of a river flowing from Cubbie, and entering the Niger a little lower down. The following extract will give the reader a specimen of their mode of sailing in this part of the country:—

'Here, as soon as we had taken a slight refreshment, we sent our beasts across the Niger to proceed by land to Boossa, and embarked in two canoes, which were each paddled by four men. These canoes are about eighteen or twenty feet long, and formed from a single log of wood, unlike those of Boossa. When we got into the main body of the Cubbie river, the canoemen kept us exposed to the sun for a considerable time, waiting the arrival of two companions, because the men with whom we had been supplied were unable to manage both canoes by themselves. Though we entreated the four men to go a little way with us, or at least to convey us into a cool and shady place, which we pointed out to them, for protection from the sun's rays, they would not hearken to us; we found scolding, threats, and supplication to be all equally unavailing; they maintained the same calm yet mortifying placidity of countenance, than which in such a case nothing can be more vexing. At length we were fain to hold our peace, and patiently resigned ourselves to the inconvenience.

The Cubbie river falls into the Niger about four miles from the creek where we had embarked; and on entering the Niger, we found it running from two to three miles an hour, and with trifling labor on the part of the canoemen, we could have journeyed very rapidly; but though we had taken on board their two companions, the whole of them were so obstinately indolent, that we travelled very slowly indeed, inasmuch that we did not expect to arrive at the appointed halting place for the night. The canoes, however, were passing along almost close to the shore, and we saw a woman at the water's edge who had a quantity of cheap country beer for sale, and thinking it might animate the men to a little more exertion, we purchased as much as they could drink, which in a few minutes completely metamorphosed them. The meekness, innocence, and composure of their listless countenances soon passed away; their heavy eyes sparkled with fire and animation; they trembled all over with anxiety to display their strength, dexterity, and vigor; and each being emulous to rival his companion, they snatched up their paddles, and by their united efforts the canoes glided through the water with inconceivable velocity, even to the danger of upsetting. Thus we proceeded down the river till the sun had set, and the moon was shining beautifully on the water, as we drew near to a small Cumbrie village on the borders of the river, where we landed and pitched our tent. The thermometer to-day has varied from 75 deg. to 92 deg.' (*Ib.* pp. 296, 297.)

On the 4th of August they arrived at a town called *Warree*, one of the most celebrated market towns in that part of the country. Here they found vast numbers of canoes filled with people, crossing the Niger to and from the market. Having satisfied their curiosity they crossed over to the Boossa side of the river, and landed at a small town called *Gamiscassa*, situated about five miles north of the city Boossa. Within sight of this place they found that all the branches of the Niger met and united, forming a beautiful and magnificent body of water at least seven or eight miles in width, and they remark, that 'it is truly astonishing what becomes of it, for at Boossa, only five miles distant, the river is not more than a stone's throw across, and its depth in proportion to its narrowness; and then about an hour's walk farther it becomes a noble river, and maintains its width, it is said, even to Funda. This singular fact favors the opinion that a large portion of the waters of the Niger is conveyed by subterraneous passages from the town of Gamiscassa to a few miles below Boossa.' From conversation, however, with various persons at this place, it was not possible, so contradictory were their accounts, to ascertain either the source, or the place where this river disembogues itself.

The following extract will show that the native Africans are as giddy and frivolous in their sports as are many of the Americans, and that both alike need the reforming influence of Christianity to make them what they should be :—

* A sudden and confused noise of merriment awoke me from a pleasing kind of reverie in which I was indulging in the moonshine. I went out instantly to ascertain the cause of such obstreperous mirth, and discovered a number of young girls, and married women with children on their backs, dancing, singing, romping, and clapping their hands, after the manner of the country; and a group of their male relatives standing beside them as judges and spectators of their proceedings. A female would spring suddenly from amid her companions, and after skipping and dancing with great animation till she became quite exhausted, would fall backward into the arms of her associates, who, anxiously watching her movements, had put themselves into a suitable attitude to receive her. Another would then supply her place, and then another, till all the festive party had danced in turn; and this amusement was kept up with so much spirit, that screams of laughter and other violent tokens of delight continued as long as it lasted.—The dance (if it deserve the name) commenced with the whole of the females, married and single. They first formed themselves into a circle, holding fast of each other's arms, and then they moved round very slowly without lifting their feet from the ground. This exercise seemed to have occasioned them much exertion and difficulty, if we might be allowed to judge from the violent and peculiar manner in which they shook and twisted their bodies, as well as from the failure of several of the younger girls, who were obliged to quit the ring almost

as soon as it was formed. This slowness of motion was gradually succeeded by a sprightlier movement, till they ran round so swiftly, that the circle was suddenly broken, and many of the women were thrown with violence to the ground. The singing, or rather screaming, and clapping of hands, together with other noises, more vociferous and wild than these, were continued till the approach of morning, when a heavy shower drove every one home. Nothing, perhaps, in this country is more capable of producing a wild, romantic, and pleasing effect than such a spectacle as this, and at such a time. In front of us lay the celebrated Niger, reflecting from its unruffled surface the splendid canopy over our heads, with the radiant clouds of departing day. On each side of the river nature had scattered with a lavish hand the most lovely of her gifts; and verdant trees cast their tall shadows on the water. Almost close to the place where we stood was a circle of naked savage women, all black as a coal, who were performing the oddest antics imaginable; and still nearer stood a wild-looking group of their male companions, resting on their tall spears and participating in the frolic with all their hearts. A three-cornered rush or straw hat, having a high peak, but without a brim, was the only article of dress worn by these men. Altogether, as we have already said, the scene was such as to fill the mind with the highest gratification and delight. To us it was irresistibly charming, and we contemplated it a long time with emotions of the most pleasing description.' (*Ib.* pp. 306, 307.)

From this place our travellers returned to Boossa, where they were cordially received and entertained by the king and his people. Among other things which occurred while they were detained at this metropolis, they relate the following; and if any one is disposed to pity these deluded mortals, let them compare the ceremonies of this national festival with the manner in which our 4th of July is celebrated by most of the inhabitants of these United States, and he will find that the latter, to say the least, are not more rational, but much less regular in their habits on such occasions. The fears excited by the eclipse of the moon will show the influence which superstition has on ignorant minds, as well as the benefits resulting from the lights of science:—

'Wednesday, Sept. 1.—Day was drawing to a close, and evening fast approaching, when the king came out of his residence to show himself to his people. He was attended by a number of his head men, with whom he perambulated the town; and afterward proceeded outside the gates to offer up a short prayer with them to the gods of his religion, for he is still a pagan, as all his fathers were, though he employs Mohammedan priests to pray for his welfare, and intercede with their prophet in his behalf, agreeably to their form of worship. Several musicians were in attendance with drums, fifes, and long Arab trumpets of brass; these men preceded their sovereign, and played lustily on their instruments all the while he was returning to his house. He shortly came out again, and rode slowly up the race-course, attended by people of both sexes most uncouthly dressed, singing and dancing before him, and followed by a party of well-dressed men mounted on

mettlesome horses, and equipped as if for war. On our saluting him, the monarch stopped and sent us a goora-nut, which, on such an occasion as this, is considered as a mark of great condescension, and a sign of peculiar favor; and he staid opposite us at least ten minutes, to give us a fair opportunity of admiring his grandeur, and diverting ourselves by the frolicsome gambols of his attendants. Smiling at our wonderment, and gratified with the respect we paid him by discharging our pistols close to his person, he nodded and passed on. The king was mounted on a fine handsome gray horse, sumptuously caparisoned; while he himself is a noble and commanding figure on horseback, and was dressed extremely well, in a red cap and large turban of the same color, a silk damask tobe of green and crimson made full and flowing, red cloth trowsers, and Arab boots. Groups of well dressed individuals were seated under every tree, with spears, quivers of arrows, long bows, and ornamented cows' tails. These latter were flourished about as the people sung; their owners threw them high into the air, and danced at the same time in the most extraordinary manner, and flung their limbs about as though they had been actuated by a supernatural power. Every one was exhilarated and in motion,—both horseman and footman, woman and child. The musicians also, not satisfied by making the whole of Boossa echo with the most grating and outrageous sounds conceivable, both sung, or rather screamed and danced, twisting their mouths, with their exertions, into all manner of wry and comical shapes. The spectacle altogether was odd and grotesque beyond description, and such a one could never enter into the dreams or waking visions of a European. Guns were fired by the king's followers, and other obstreperous and astounding noises were made by the people. Never did we see the king in a happier mood; his satisfaction seemed to be quite complete. He smiled graciously on all around him; and bestowed many an arch and significant look upon us, as if he would have said, "Can *your* sovereign boast so splendid a retinue as mine, or display so much regal splendor?"

The ceremony was long and fatiguing; and though the king was screened from the sun's rays by two large ponderous umbrellas, and though two men were standing by, constantly fanning him, yet perspiration stood in large drops upon his forehead, and he appeared nearly exhausted. After our curiosity had been amply gratified, the king rode away, preceded by his singing and dancing women, his musicians, his bowmen, and his spearmen, with all their noise and clamor, and instantly began to make preparations for a horse-race. The course was short, rough, and uneven, and the competition between the riders by no means animated. Indeed, the race was of short duration, and very inferior to the horse-racing of either Kiáma or Wowow. The king is a graceful rider, and displayed his horsemanship to much advantage by galloping up and down the course; and, owing to his advantageous stature, his appearance was very becoming. The sun was then setting, and as soon as he had disappeared the amusements ceased. The people, both strangers and inhabitants, were then collected together before the king's house, for the purpose of hearing an oration from their monarch; for, in pursuance of an ancient and established practice, the king of Boossa annually harangues his people on the celebra-

tion of this festival. The sovereign is at least a head taller than any of his subjects, so that he was a remarkable and conspicuous object to every one of his audience. If such a comparison may be ventured on, the commencement of his speech was in its nature not unlike that delivered on the opening of parliament by his majesty of England. The king of Boossa began by assuring his people of the internal tranquillity of the empire, and of the friendly disposition of foreign powers toward him. He then exhorted his hearers to attend to the cultivation of the soil, to work diligently, and live temperately; and concluded with an injunction for them all to be abstemious in the use of beer. He declared that too much indulgence in it was the source of much evil and wretchedness, and the cause of most of the quarrels and disturbances that had taken place in the city. "Go; retire to rest soberly and cheerfully," said the king, "and do as I have requested you, when you will be an example to your neighbors, and win the good opinion and applause of mankind." The king's speech lasted for three quarters of an hour. He spoke vehemently and with much eloquence; his language was forcible and impressive, and his action appropriate and commanding; and he dismissed the assembly with a graceful and noble air. Instead of a sceptre the monarch flourished the tuft of a lion's tail.

While the king was haranguing his subjects, and while all of them were listening with respect and attention to the precepts of morality and virtue which he recommended, two of our own men, one of whom was intoxicated, were fighting and blustering, and making a great uproar among the people: my brother endeavored to separate them, but all his efforts were unavailing and abortive, and he only received severe blows on the breast for his pains. The fight was observed by the king, who seemed distressed and angry, and rode up to the men three different times, and commanded them to forbear and be quiet, but his interference was regarded with no more respect than my brother's. My brother and I, perceiving that the principal of the fellows would not be pacified by any other means, gave directions that he might immediately be secured. But the people of Boossa are gentle and compassionate in their disposition, and they not only regretted that the man was to receive punishment, but were actually afraid to come near him, for he was wild as a maniac, and our own men were obliged to lay hold of him, and attempted to bind him with ropes. This was no easy matter, for he struggled hard with them; but after an hour's desperate resistance, they succeeded in securing him, and he was subsequently confined in irons for the night, much against the wishes of the king and his people. This individual, whose name I forbear to mention, is a mulatto, and was born in the British colony of Nova Scotia, from whence he was removed in his childhood, with his parents, to Sierra Leone. While yet a boy, he was sent to sea; and before he had attained to maturity he had filled the different characters of a slave, a seaman, a pirate, and the master of a vessel. He afterward volunteered into the British navy, and became a man-of-war's man; but for a serious misdemeanor, he was flogged through the fleet in the Mediterranean, and deserted in consequence. We found him at Badágyry, where he had suffered a fortnight's imprisonment, by order of Adooley,

for theft. When we first saw him, he told us a long and pitiful story, of his having been born a British subject, but falling sick on board of a merchant vessel, which was trading on the coast, he was set on shore about five years ago by order of his captain, and from that time up to the period of his joining our party at Badágrý, he had been a slave to Adooley, for the captain had left him to his fate. As we knew the man would be extremely useful in a canoe, to the management of which he has been accustomed from his infancy, and that he also understood the cleaning and repairing of guns, beside other useful matters, and as we likewise believed his artful tale, we obtained the consent of the Badágrían chief, whose slave he was, to part with him, provided we would pledge ourselves to bring him back with us in safety. In Yarriba we could by no means complain of his general conduct; he was always willing to do every thing we required of him, and was by far the most diligent and useful man of the party. At Boossa and at Yàoorie, however, his evil propensities and bad conduct began to display themselves: he became idle, drunken, and careless, and purloined several little articles, which, intrinsically, were of no value; but in the reduced state of our finances, they were of great consequence to us. Beside which, he is one of the most abandoned creatures in the world; and it was a common practice with him to absent himself from our party several days together, so that we saw nothing of him, and when he returned, was accompanied by complaints from the native women. This man's conduct has given us both much uneasiness, anxiety, and apprehension; we scarcely know what to do with him, he is so profligate and vicious: we thought of sending him back to Yarriba by a party of men who will leave hence for Keeshee in a day or two, but they dread the thoughts of his company, and refuse to take him along with them for any consideration. He has already threatened the lives of more than one of our men, and they begin to tremble with apprehension for their personal safety. In his sober moments he is quiet, orderly, and good-natured; and it is only when his furious passions are excited by drinking that he becomes altogether ungovernable, and displays all his fiend-like disposition, to the danger of our lives. We are likewise apprehensive that the natives of the country will entertain but a despicable opinion of us, when they reflect upon the outrageous conduct of this man, for his features are cast in the European mould; he dresses in the English costume, like ourselves; he speaks our language with readiness, and writes it with facility.

Thursday, September 2.—Yesterday was considered as a day of amusement and recreation for men on horseback only; but this has been devoted almost exclusively to dancing and singing, and other trifling diversions, which are more generally relished by people of all ranks, and of both sexes. At an early hour in the morning, the people of the city, with musicians in their train, assembled in large groups, and continued parading the streets all day, and singing and dancing were kept up without intermission till four o'clock in the afternoon. Nothing could surpass the hilarity and general good humor which prevailed among the people during the day. The features of every one were animated with joy. Theirs was no ordinary mirth; for being

naturally of a warm-hearted, sanguine disposition, they entered into the sports of the day with a fervency which displayed itself in all manner of extraordinary tricks, gestures, and movements. This was a holiday for all, from the king to the meanest of his subjects. The old seemed to have forgotten their weight of years, the young knew no restraint, and those who before had talked of love in secret, now openly exchanged with each other

"Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks, and wreathed smiles."

A short relaxation from this tumultuous pastime was now obtained by some in making preparations for joining the king's party, which was fast collecting at his house. Such diversions as theirs, so highly exciting and gratifying, are nevertheless wearisome to the strongest frame, and in this sultry climate must be particularly so to them.—When they had all assembled, they presented a singularly grotesque and striking appearance. A cluster of between sixty and seventy Falatahs, men, women, and children, were some standing and some sitting in front of the doorway leading to the interior apartments. Their dresses were remarkably clean, neat, varied, and becoming; the long black hair of the women was ingeniously and prettily braided, and confined in nets and caps; and their flowing garments of striped cotton swept along the ground: the men wore red caps, loose white tobes, and full trowsers; and their little children were pleasingly clad, and decorated with all the finery and ornaments which their parents had been able to bestow on them. These well-looking Falatahs formed the most interesting and agreeable assemblage of the whole; they had likewise more vivacity in their looks, and more quickness of action, than any of their companions. To the right of them, in an enclosure of mud, was seated the queen of Boossa, dressed loosely, though not inelegantly, in rich English silks, as spectatress of the amusements; behind her were the king's other wives, and her own female slaves, who were pretty numerous. They formed also a cleanly, decent group, inferior only to the former. On each side of the Falatahs and behind them was a great number of other spectators, of all ranks, many of whom were standing, and many sitting on the turf and reclining against the trunks of trees. Most of the men were clad in the Mohammedan costume, with cap, tobe, and trowsers; and the majority of the women were dressed in neat and durable country cloths, which were carelessly thrown over the left shoulder, and reached to the ground, leaving the right arm and shoulder, and part of the right leg, uncovered. A few among them, however, wore common Manchester cottons, of a large, showy, and vulgar pattern, which were infinitely surpassed by their own country cloth.

Although the king had not made his appearance, the amusements were carried on with much animation; and the dancers, far from being tired, seemed to imbibe fresh vigor and renewed activity; while the drummers, eight in number, with a fifer as an assistant, continued playing to them. A man first started from the crowd with a bundle of rushes in his hand, like a German broom, which he flourished over his head with inconceivable dexterity. After dancing awhile, he was joined by two Falatah women, who imitated his actions, and partook

of his glee. One of them held a little girl by the hand ; and the whole four individuals, man, women, and child, continued the dancing till they were completely fatigued, when they were succeeded by another party of three or four, and then another in like manner, so that there was not a moment's pause in the dance at any time. They kept good time with the music and singing. But instead of the quick, lively motion which is generally observed on similar occasions, the dancers moved with a slow and measured step, in which there was nothing unbecoming or improper, and all seemed consistent with the rules of delicacy. For want of a proper fan, the females used neat round mats of various colors ; and it afforded us no little entertainment to see them placed before the mouth whenever they wished to hide their faces, or attempt to conceal their laughter.

Meanwhile the king was expected by every one with much anxiety and impatience, for as yet he had not been present to witness the diversions of his people ; and it was not till past four in the afternoon that he showed himself from one of his huts. His arrival was welcomed by a spirited rally upon the drums, while he took his seat on a stool between the queen's station and the group of Falatahs, and perceiving us among the crowd, he invited us to place ourselves near his person. Several attendants who had followed their master stood on each side of him, forming, if it may so be called, a "guard of honor." One of these men held two large bundles of spears, whose points or barbs were confined in caps of burnished brass, on which he rested his head with much solemnity, and with a slight inclination of the body ; while from his temples was suspended a huge and enormous hat, made either of grass or rushes, which reached to the ground, and covered him like a shield. Others held loose bundles of spears, fans, and arrows, with the two prodigious Arab trumpets which have before been casually alluded to. Thus attended, the king entered into the spirit of the performances with a merry heart, and a determination to be pleased with them. He appeared to be by far the most delighted spectator of the whole, and signified his approbation by encouraging words and glances to those who danced or sung to his satisfaction. A cheerful smile animated his countenance during the whole time, and caused his features to assume an expression of good humor which it is a particular custom in him never to display so fully except on occasions of public festivity and enjoyment, though he is one of the pleasantest and best-tempered men that we have met with in Africa.

There was an elderly female who danced alone before the king, and by the peculiarity of her looks, and her ludicrous and uncommon gestures, afforded us very great amusement. This woman is a tall, awkward, masculine, and uncomely figure ; yet she endeavored to look so serious, at the same time with so arch a countenance, and with a half-averted glance smiled with so much artfulness and loving-kindness on her sovereign and his attendants, dancing at the same time with such an extraordinary motion of her person, that she obtained universal applause. This was a fair challenge to the king ; and as soon as she had finished, the monarch himself arose and stepped into the ring to display his acquirements in the art. Every one stood on his legs, out of respect to their sovereign, as well to applaud his dancing as to ob-

tain a fairer opportunity of beholding his person ; and a great press was made by the crowd in consequence, that they might gain a better view of him. The king moved with much stiffness and stateliness, which is at all times unbecoming in a dance ; but the populace expressed their admiration of his abilities in shouts of joy, and certainly his attempts to please and amuse them deserved the full extent of applause. To us, however, it does not appear that nature, which has been so bountiful to this beloved monarch in other respects, has fitted him for so active an amusement as this ; for though his size approaches to the majestic, though he walks and rides with equal ease, and though the exercise by no means requires the greatest flexibility of body, his dance, to us at least, was a complete failure ; for he has a foot which may be compared to that of a dromedary in point of size, and his toe is any thing but "light and fantastic." When his first dance, which was much the same as that performed by his people, was concluded, the king began a second, by imitating the canter of a native horse when going to war. This, as may be supposed, was an inexpressibly odd and whimsical experiment, but it lasted a short time only ; for in a very few minutes he disappeared from the spectators by cantering into one of his huts, followed by the cheers of admiration and the acclamations of every one present.

The sun had now set, and with the departure of the prince the singing and dancing ceased for the evening ; nevertheless all the people patiently awaited his return to the spot. Now, of all the celebrated dancers in the country, none can excel or equal the king of Wowow in grace, elegance, and vivacity ; and the fame of his skill in this amusement, which is thought so much of in this country, is gone abroad into all lands ; every one, even his enemies, acknowledge his superiority in this polite accomplishment ; and the envious and malicious are compelled to own that he is without a rival from Bornou to the sea. Yet, notwithstanding his renown as a dancer, the chief is a very aged man, having a most solemn and forbidding aspect ; and though he has evidently, to use a common expression, one foot in the grave, he is as active as a boy, and indulges largely in this his favorite amusement every Friday. It was in order for us to witness his elegant dancing, we have been told, that he pressed us with so much earnestness and importunity to spend the holydays at Wowow, which we should certainly have consented to but for the discouragement our project received from the king of Boossa, who was envious of his celebrity, and therefore compelled, rather than enticed us to remain here, that we might see his personal accomplishments to advantage, witness the public gayety and festivities of his people, and in his imagination be struck with astonishment and admiration at his own perfection in the art of dancing.

The Boossa people did not wait long for the reappearance of their monarch ; for shortly after he came out to them, followed by a boy with two calabashes full of cowries, which were to be distributed among the multitude. But first of all the king took up a handful, and gave to each of the singers, dancers, and musicians that had contributed so essentially to his entertainment ; nor was the tall old woman forgotten, who had danced alone before him, for she received a double

allowance. We were rather pleased at this, for she is our next-door neighbor, a poor old woman, who is very chatty and flippant, and has fallen in love with one of our young men, named Antonio. This having been done to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, the remainder of the cowries were scattered by the king's own hand among the crowd to be scrambled for, which occasioned the most animating and amusing sight that can be conceived. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, strangers and friends, were scrambling and tumbling over each other, some on their faces and some on their knees, both giving and receiving cuffs and kicks in the scuffle to get at the money. This scramble lasted about ten minutes, when the party before the king's house broke up; but the good-natured monarch, to show his affection for his subjects, whom he indeed regards with as much tenderness as if they were his children, was unwilling to send them to their homes without giving them another last treat, so he danced sideways half way up the race course and back again to his residence with much stateliness. This was indeed a royal attempt; the midiki smiled with delight that she had *such* a spouse; the people were louder than ever in their shouts of approbation; all was noise, tumult, and confusion; their sovereign was more beloved than ever he had been; and as the evening closed in, silence was gradually restored, and the people retired to their homes. This was the last of the holydays, and the proceedings of this day have concluded their festivities.

About ten o'clock at night, when we were sleeping on our mats, we were suddenly awoken by a great cry of distress from innumerable voices, attended by a horrid clashing and clattering noise, which the hour of the night tended to make more terrific. Before we had time to recover from our surprise, old Pascoe rushed breathless into our hut, and informed us with a trembling voice that "the sun was dragging the moon across the heavens." Wondering what could be the meaning of so strange and ridiculous a story, we ran out of the hut half dressed, and we discovered that the moon was totally eclipsed. A number of people were gathered together in our yard, in dreadful apprehension that the world was at an end, and that this was but the "beginning of sorrows." We learned from them that the Mohammedan priests residing in the city, having personified the sun and moon, had told the king and the people that the eclipse was occasioned through the obstinacy and disobedience of the latter luminary. They said that for a long time previously the moon had been displeased with the path she had been compelled to take through the heavens, because it was filled with thorns and briers, and obstructed with a thousand other difficulties; and therefore that, having watched for a favorable opportunity, she had this evening deserted her usual track, and entered into that of the sun. She had not, however, travelled far up the sky, on the forbidden road, before the circumstance was discovered by the sun, who immediately hastened to her in his anger, and punished her dereliction by clothing her in darkness, forcing her back to her own territories, and forbidding her to shed her light upon the earth. This story, whimsical as it may seem, was received with implicit confidence in its truth by the king and queen, and most of the people of Boossa; and the cause of the noises which we had heard, and which were still

continuing with renewed vehemence, was explained to us by the fact that they were all "assembled together in the hope of being able to frighten away the sun to his proper sphere, and leave the moon to enlighten the world as at other times." This is much after the manner of many savage nations.

While our informant was yet speaking to us, a messenger arrived at our yard from the king, to tell us the above tale, and with an invitation to come to see him immediately. Therefore, slipping on the remainder of our clothes, we followed the man to the residence of his sovereign from outside of which the cries proceeded, and here we found the king and his timid partner sitting on the ground. Their usual good spirits and cheerful behavior had forsaken them entirely; both appeared overwhelmed with apprehension, and trembled at every joint. Like all their subjects, in the hurry of fear and the suddenness of the alarm, they had come out of their dwellings half dressed, the head and legs, and the upper part of their persons, being entirely exposed. We soon succeeded in quelling their fears, or at least in diminishing their apprehension. The king then observed, that neither himself nor the oldest of his subjects recollected seeing but one eclipse of the moon beside the one he was gazing at; that it had occurred exactly when the Falatahs began to be formidable in the country, and that it had forewarned them of all the wars, disasters, and calamities which subsequently took place.

We had seated ourselves opposite to the king and queen, and within two or three feet of them, where we could readily observe the moon and the people without inconvenience, and carry on the conversation at the same time. If the royal couple shuddered with terror on beholding the darkened moon, we were scarcely less affected by the savage gestures of those within a few yards of us, and by their repeated cries, so wild, so loud, and so piercing, that an indescribable sensation of horror stole over us, and rendered us almost as nervous as those whom we had come to comfort. The earlier part of the evening had been mild, serene, and remarkably pleasant; the moon had arisen with uncommon lustre, and being at the full, her appearance was extremely delightful. It was the conclusion of the holydays, and many of the people were enjoying the delicious coolness of a serene night, and resting from the laborious exertions of the day; but when the moon became gradually obscured, fear overcame every one. As the eclipse increased, they became more terrified. All ran in great distress to inform their sovereign of the circumstance, for there was not a single cloud to cause so deep a shadow, and they could not comprehend the nature or meaning of an eclipse. The king was as easily frightened as his people, being equally simple and ignorant; he would not therefore suffer them to depart. Numbers sometimes beget courage and confidence, he thought; so he commanded them to remain near his person, and to do all in their power to restore the lost glory of the moon.

In front of the king's house, and almost close to it, are a few magnificent cotton trees, round which the soil had been freed from grass, &c, for the celebration of the games. On this spot were the terrified people assembled, with every instrument capable of making a noise

which could be procured in the whole town. They had formed themselves into a large treble circle, and continued running round with amazing velocity, crying, shouting, and groaning with all their might. They tossed and flung their heads about, twisted their bodies into all manner of contortions, jumped into the air, stamped with their feet on the ground, and flourished their hands above their heads. No scene in the romance of Robinson Crusoe was so wild and savage as this; and a large wood fire, with a few men spitted and roasting before it, was alone wanting to render it complete! Little boys and girls were outside the ring, running to and fro, clashing empty calabashes against each other, and crying bitterly; groups of men were blowing on trumpets, which produced a harsh and discordant sound; some were employed in beating old drums; others again were blowing on bullocks' horns; and in the short intervals between the rapid succession of all these fiend-like noises, was heard one more dismal than the rest, proceeding from an iron tube, accompanied by the clinking of chains. Indeed, every thing that *could* increase the uproar was put in requisition on this memorable occasion; nor did it cease till midnight, when the eclipse had passed away. Never have we witnessed so extraordinary a scene as this. The diminished light, when the eclipse was complete, was just sufficient to enable us to distinguish the various groups of people, and contributed in no small degree to render the scene still more imposing. If a European, a stranger to Africa, were to be placed on a sudden in the midst of the terror-struck people, he would imagine himself to be among a legion of demons, holding a revel over a fallen spirit; so peculiarly unearthly, wild, and horrifying was the appearance of the dancing group, and the clamor which they made. It was perhaps fortunate for us that we had an almanac with us, which foretold the eclipse; for although we neglected to inform the king of this circumstance, we were yet enabled to tell him and his people the exact time of its disappearance. This succeeded in some measure in suppressing their fears, for they would believe any thing we might tell them; and perhaps, also, it has procured for us a lasting reputation "and a name." "O," said the king, "there will be sorrow and crying this night from Wowow to Yàoorie. The people will have no one to comfort or condole with them; they will fancy this eclipse to be the harbinger of something very dreadful; and they will be in distress and trouble till the moon shall have regained her brightness." It was nearly one o'clock when we left the king and queen, to return to our hut; every thing was then calm and silent, and we lay down to rest in peace.' (*Ib.* pp. 352-368.)

After being detained at this place a little short of two months, our travellers set off to traverse an unexplored part of the country, under the expectation that they would now be able to follow the Niger to its entrance into the sea. They had found in the king and queen of Boossa most hearty friends; and the following account of the affectionate manner in which they separated, will show that true hospitality and the kindlier feelings of the heart may be found among pagans and Mohammedans as well as among Christians. Indeed it may be fairly

questioned whether any Christian prince would show even equal attention to strangers, however exalted their characters, unless enrolled among those whose blood is of royal extraction, as was manifested to the Messrs. Landers on the present occasion.

‘About breakfast time the king and queen arrived at our hut, to pay us a farewell visit, and bestow upon us their last blessing. They brought with them two pots of honey and a large quantity of goora nuts, strongly recommending us to present the latter to the Rabba chieftain, for that nothing we might have in our possession could so effectually conciliate his favor, procure us his friendship, and command his confidence. When mutual compliments were passed, we expressed our acknowledgments to both of them with sincerity and earnestness, for the benevolence, hospitality, and attention with which they had uniformly treated us ; for their kindness to us ; for their zeal in every thing that regarded our welfare ; and for the protection they had afforded us during a period little short of two months, in which we had enjoyed the utmost security, and as much of happiness and gayety as it had been in their power to bestow. And we assured them, that should we be so fortunate as to return to England, it would be our first care to acquaint our countrymen of all their kindness to us, which we would remember as long as we lived. We then shook hands heartily, and concluded by wishing them a continuation of the simple blessings and the felicity they enjoyed ; that they might ever be loved by their subjects, and feared and honored by the neighboring nations ; that they might live to a good old age, and die in peace with all mankind. They were both touched with sorrow at our words, for they were the last which they would hear us utter ; tears were glistening in the eyes of each as they were making an affecting and suitable answer ; and the good couple walked out of our hut with heavy and mournful countenances, and immediately repaired to their own abode in order to make a powerful spell for our preservation and success.

When we ourselves quitted the hut, which was shortly after their departure, we found our yard filled with neighbors, friends, and acquaintances, who all fell down on their knees to bid us good-by.—They blessed us earnestly with uplifted hands, and those among them that were of the Mohammedan religion fervently implored for us the favor and protection of Allah and their prophet. The eyes of many of them were streaming with tears, and all were more or less affected. As we passed by these poor creatures, we spoke to them all, and thanked them again and again for their good wishes. Our hearts must have been of marble if we could have beheld such a scene without some slight emotion. On our way toward the river, also, the path was lined with people, some of whom saluted us on one knee, and some on both, and we received their benedictions as we walked along.’ (*Ib.* vol. ii, pp. 9–11.)

They found the river below Boossa full of islands, and about the distance of fifty miles landed at one called Patashie, thickly inhabited, its soil exceedingly fertile, embellished with various groves of palm and other noble trees, and abounding with horses, goats, poultry, &c,

and its inhabitants honest, industrious, and many of them wealthy. Here they were also received and treated with great cordiality, and were amply supplied with provision without fee or reward, the natives vying with each other to do them honor and to obtain a sight of their persons.

After some vexatious delays, our travellers left Patashie, and in a few hours landed at the town of *Lever*, about twenty miles distant, where they met with some difficulty in procuring canoes for their voyage. However, on the 4th of October they set off from this place with two canoes, and launched out into the middle of the current, and glided swiftly down. Here the river appeared deep, was free from islands and rocks, and its width appeared to vary from one to three miles, the banks being high and steep. We give the following extract from the journal of our travellers as affording a specimen of the manner in which the petty sovereigns appear, when strangers are introduced to them:—

‘Between nine and ten, A. M., we heard a number of men singing, and keeping time to the motion of many paddles, but we could see no one. However, in a very few minutes, a canoe, which was paddled by a few men only, came in sight, and we knew by this that the Water King was approaching. It was instantly followed by another and much larger one, propelled by above twenty very fine young men, whose voices we had been listening to just before, and who were still continuing their song. Their music was slower, but very similar to that which may be heard on many parts of the western coast. The *King of the Dark Water* was with them. As the canoe drew nearer we were not only surprised at its extraordinary length and uncommon neatness, but likewise at the unusual display of pomp and show which we observed in her. In the centre a mat awning was erected, which was variously decorated, and on the front of it hung a large piece of scarlet cloth, ornamented with bits of gold lace stitched on different parts of it. In the bow of the canoe were three or four little boys, of equal size, who were clad with neatness and propriety; and in the stern sat a number of comely-looking musicians, consisting of several drummers and a trumpeter, while the young men who had the management of the boat were not inferior to their companions either in decency of apparel or respectability of appearance. They all looked in fact extremely well.

As soon as this canoe arrived at the landing place, the “Water King” came out from beneath the awning, and, followed by the musicians and a suite of attendants, walked to the hut wherein all public matters are transacted, and whither, in a few minutes, we ourselves were desired to repair. The chief of the island, with his elders and the more respectable of the people, were seated, on our entrance, on each side of their important visiter, and my brother and I, as a mark of distinction, were invited to place ourselves in front of him. When the usual compliments had passed on both sides, he informed us, with much solemnity, of his rank and title; he then alluded to the cause of

his coming, which, he said, was to do us honor, and repeated what had previously been told us by the king's son. This being done, he presented us with a pot of excellent honey, and two thousand cowries in money, beside a large quantity of goora-nuts, which are cultivated in the country, and which are held in so great esteem, that the opulent and powerful alone have the means of procuring them. Having nothing farther to say or do, we shook hands with his sable majesty, whose name is Suliken Rouah, expressed our acknowledgments for his handsome present, and returned to our boats.

The "King of the Dark Water" is a fine-looking man, well stricken in years; his skin as black as a coal; his features are coarse but benevolent, and his stature advantageous and commanding. He was dressed in a full Bornouse, or Arab cloak, of inferior blue cloth, underneath which was a variegated robe made of figured satin, country cloth, and crimson silk damask, all patched together; he likewise wore a cap of red cloth, Haussa trowsers, and sandals of colored leather. Two pretty little boys, about ten years of age, and of equal size, and who acted in capacity of pages, followed him into the hut. Their clothing was neat and becoming, and their persons nicely clean; each of them was furnished with an ornamented cow's tail, and they stood one on his right hand and the other on his left, to brush away flies and other insects from his person, and supply him with goora-nuts and tobacco. The king was also accompanied by six of his wives, fine handsome jet-black girls, dressed in neat country caps edged with red silk. Native cloths, made of cotton and silk, were fastened round their waists, beneath which they wore a sort of short frock. The usual custom of staining their finger and toe nails with henna appears to be general among them; their wrists were ornamented with neat silver bracelets, and their necks with coral necklaces.

To such a man as the "Water King," with such a suite and such a title, the greatest honor is expected to be paid, and we therefore showed our respect by saluting him with a discharge from two or three muskets; and by waiting patiently his return from the council hut, wherein he stayed two whole hours, during which we were sitting in our canoes, exposed to a very hot sun, for we had removed them from under the tree by the side of his own.' (*Ib.* pp. 56-58.)

In company with this chief they sailed down the river until they arrived at Zagozhi, situated on an island in the Niger. While here they opened a communication with the king of Rabba, a neighboring prince, whose friendship they obtained by an interchange of presents. This friendship proved highly advantageous to them afterward. It seems the king of Nouffie, with whom they had had intercourse before, and who had professed great friendship for them, now sent a messenger to Rabba, demanding more presents, and threatening, in case of a refusal, to search their baggage, and take by force what he could not obtain by fraud. This message being communicated to the Rabba king, he treated it with indignation, saying, 'Tell the magia, your sovereign, that I would rebuke him for this expression of his senti-

ments ; that I detest his base insinuations ; that I will never consent to his wishes ; and that I reject his proposal with disdain. What ! shall the white men, who have come from such distant lands to visit our country, who have spent their substance among us, and made us presents, before we had leisure to do any good for them, shall they be treated so inhumanly ? Never ! They have worn their shoes from their feet, and their clothes from their persons, by the length and tediousness of their journeys ; they have thrown themselves into our hands, to claim our protection and partake of our hospitality ; shall we treat them then as robbers, and cast them from us like dogs ? Surely not. What would our neighbors,—what would our friends—our foes, say to this ? What could be a greater reproach than the infamy which would attach itself to our characters and to our name, should we treat these poor, unprotected, wandering strangers, and white men too, in the manner your monarch, the king of Nouffie, proposes ? After they have been received and entertained with so much hospitality and honor in Yarriba, at Wowow, and at Boossa, shall it be said that Rabba treated them badly ; that she shut her doors upon them and plundered them ? No, never ! I have already given my word to protect them, and I will not forfeit that sacred pledge for all the guns and swords in the world.'

The following conversation will show the estimation in which white men are held by these people :—

'Several Haussa merchants arrived at Rabba this morning, with a number of fine horses for sale. As soon as they entered the town, they went to pay their respects to the prince, when Pascoe happened to be in his company, and they conversed together in the Falatah language, not thinking for a moment that it could be understood by him. In allusion to us, for we are generally brought on the *tapis* on such occasions, they spoke very much in our praise, mentioned Capt. Claperton, "the unfortunate Abdallah," in terms of the highest admiration, and had seen with wonder the splendid and curious presents which he had made to Sultan Bello at Soccatoo. "I know the white men too," said the prince, "they are good men ; in fact I have reason to speak well of them, for I also am a white man, and therefore I am of opinion that they are of the same blood as ourselves." It is in this manner that Falatahs endeavor to claim relationship with Europeans, though these people are either of a swarthy complexion, or black as soot ; and this passion to be considered fair is often carried to a most ridiculous height. White men, how sorry soever their outward appearance may be, are certainly considered, not only by Falatahs, but by the native blacks, as a superior order of beings, in all respects more excellent than themselves. At Yàoorie we recollect having overheard a conversation between two men, who were quarrelling in the very height of passion. "What !" exclaimed one of them to his fellow, "thou pitiful son of a black ant ! dost thou presume to say that a horse was my

father? Look at these Christians! for as they are, I am; and such were my ancestors; answer me not, I say, for I am a white man!"—The speaker was a negro, and his skin was the color of charcoal.' (*Ib.* pp. 78, 79.)

Below Rabba, they found the breadth of the Niger to be about two miles, its general course being south-east; but after sailing about twenty minutes it turned in an easterly direction, when its breadth appeared to be not less than four miles. They soon found themselves in a situation which rendered it impracticable to land, though they saw a number of villages at a distance from the river, on account of the deep morasses along its banks; the width of the river in the mean time varying from three to six miles, interspersed with numerous islands, beautiful in appearance, and well cultivated; but the gentle stream wafted them pleasantly along without much labor. At length, not being able to land, they were much annoyed and not a little terrified by the appearance of an incredible number of Hippopotami, which came plashing, snorting, and plunging around the canoe, amidst the darkness of the night, the gleaming of the lightning, and the roaring of the thunder. Under these circumstances they were obliged to sail nearly the whole night; but toward morning, the storm passed over, a clear sky appeared, and the Niger presented a magnificent view, being, as they supposed, not less than eight miles wide.

We cannot follow our travellers minutely through all their journeyings down this mighty river. November 4, they took their departure from *Damuggoo*, where they had been hospitably entertained for some time, and sailed down the river which they found to be from one to three or four miles wide, with a rapid current, when on the 5th they met with the following rencounter:—

'At six A. M. we were passing rather close to a point in the river, round which it takes an abrupt turn, and the current being very rapid we were carried into an eddy before we were aware of it. It was with considerable difficulty that we got clear of it, but had we been two yards nearer to the shore our canoe would have been dashed into pieces. These dangers will always be avoided by the precaution of keeping in the middle of the river. At seven A. M. we saw a small river enter the Niger from the eastward, the banks of which, as well as those of the Niger, were elevated and fertile. Shortly after we observed a branch of the river running off to the westward, about the same size as that from the eastward. On the right bank of this river, close also to the bank of the Niger, we observed a large market, which I was informed is *Kirree*; and that the river, flowing to the westward past it, runs to *Benin*. A great number of canoes were lying near the bank. They appeared to be very large, and had flags flying on long bamboo canes. We took no notice of them, but passed on, and in a short time afterward we saw about fifty canoes before us, coming up the river. They appeared to be very large and full of men, and the appearance of

them at a distance was very pleasing. They had each three long bamboo canes, with flags flying from them, one fixed at each end of the canoe, and the other in the middle. As we approached each other I observed the British Union flag in several, while others, which were white, had figures on them of a man's leg, chairs, tables, decanters, glasses, and all kinds of such devices. The people in them, who were very numerous, were dressed in European clothing, with the exception of trowsers.

I felt quite overjoyed by the sight of these people, more particularly so when I saw our flag and European apparel among them, and congratulated myself that they were from the sea coast. But all my fond anticipations vanished in a moment as the first canoe met us. A great stout fellow, of a most forbidding countenance, beckoned to me to come to him, but seeing him and all his people so well armed I was not much inclined to trust myself among them, and paid no attention to him. The next moment I heard the sound of a drum, and in an instant several men mounted a platform and levelled their muskets at us. There was nothing to be done now but to obey; as for running away it was out of the question, our square loaded canoe was incapable of it; and to fight with fifty war canoes, for such we found them, containing each above forty people, most of whom were as well armed as ourselves, would have been throwing away my own and my canoe-men's lives very foolishly. In addition to the muskets, each canoe had a long gun in its bow that would carry a shot of four or six pounds, beside being provided with a good stock of swords and boarding pikes.

By this time our canoes were side by side, and with astonishing rapidity our luggage found its way into those of our opponents. This mode of proceeding I did not relish at all; so as my gun was loaded with two balls and four slugs, I took deliberate aim at the leader, and he would have paid for his temerity with his life in one moment more, had not three of his people sprung on me and forced the gun from my hands. My jacket and shoes were as quickly plundered from me, and observing some other fellows at the same time taking away Pascoe's wife, I lost all command over myself, and was determined to sell my life as dearly as I could. I encouraged my men to arm themselves with their paddles and defend themselves to the last. I instantly seized hold of Pascoe's wife, and with the assistance of another of my men dragged her from the fellow's grasp; Pascoe at the same time levelled a blow at his head with one of our iron-wood paddles that sent him reeling backward, and we saw him no more.

Our canoe having been so completely relieved of her cargo, which had consisted only of our luggage, we had plenty of room in her for battle, and being each of us provided with a paddle, we determined, as we had got clear of our adversary, to cut down the first fellow who should dare to board us. This was not attempted; and as none of the other canoes had offered to interfere, I was in hopes of finding some friends among them, but at all events was determined to follow the people who had plundered us to the market, where they seemed to be going. We accordingly pulled after them as fast as we could. My men, now that the fray was over, began to think of their forlorn condition. All their things were gone, and as they gave up all hopes of re-

gaining them, or being able to revenge themselves on the robbers, they gave vent to their rage in tears and execrations. I desired them to be quiet, and endeavored all in my power to pacify them by telling them that if we were spared to reach the sea in safety, I would pay them for every thing they had lost.

We were following the canoe that had attacked us as fast as we possibly could to regain our things, if possible, when some people hailed us from a large canoe, which I found afterward belonged to the New Calebar river. One of the people, who was apparently a person of consequence, called out lustily to me, "Holloa, white man, you French, you English?"—"Yes, English," I answered him immediately.—"Come here in my canoe," he said, and our two canoes approached each other rapidly. I accordingly got into his canoe, and he put three of his men into mine to assist in pulling her to the market. The people of the canoe treated me with much kindness, and the chief of her who had hailed me gave me a glass of rum. There were several females also in the canoe, who appeared to take a great deal of interest in my safety.

On looking around me I now observed my brother coming toward us in the Damuggoo canoe, and the same villain who had plundered me was the first to pursue him. As we had been absent from each other all the morning, and the foregoing transactions only relate to myself, the following narrative of my brother's will give the reader an account of his proceedings to the time I saw him, and the disaster which soon after followed.

"My brother left the village nearly two hours before me, and therefore he was far in advance when the Damuggoo canoe, in which I had remained, was pushed off the land. Wishing to overtake him, for he had no guide, the men exerted themselves wonderfully to make amends for the time which they had trifled away, and it was really astonishing to see the rapidity with which the canoe was impelled through the water.

The morning was cool, serene, and delightful, and the sun had just emerged from a mass of dense clouds, which were fringed with a silvery light. On each side of the river, gentle and undulating hills rose one behind the other, covered with verdure, and here and there varied by groves of dark green trees, which served to render the prospect yet more agreeable. The smooth, transparent surface of the river, disturbed only by the motions of our paddles, so calm, so peaceful in its gentle course, reflected with unerring truth the enchanting landscape from either side, and lent its friendly aid to hasten us to our long-wished-for destination.

After we had been in the canoe perhaps an hour, one of the men who happened to be standing in the bow fancied that he could descry, in another canoe, then at a considerable distance before us, a sheep and goat which my brother had taken away with him in the morning. All doubt as to the identity of the animals having been removed from his own mind and those of his companions,—though for my own part I must own that my vision was not near keen enough to allow me to agree with them in opinion,—we gave chase to the suspected canoe. The men summoned all their resolution and strength to the task, and,

like an arrow from a bow, our narrow vessel darted through the water. We gained rapidly on the chase, and the people, perceiving our object and mistrusting our intentions, kept near the shore, and labored hard to get away from us. They then entered a branch of the river which was running to the south-west, and sheltered themselves among a number of canoes that were lying alongside a large market place, situated on the right bank.

This did not damp the spirit of our men, or deter them from following the pursued : we succeeded in discovering their hiding place ; and at length, after much wrangling and many threats, the robbers (for such they proved to be) were compelled to restore the animals. But how my brother could have suffered two men to plunder his canoe puzzled me exceedingly, and I was totally at a loss to account for it. Nothing could exceed my surprise, on approaching the market, to observe, as I thought, large European flags, affixed to poles, and waving over almost every canoe that was there. On a closer examination I discovered them to be imitations only, though they were executed with uncommon skill and neatness. British colors apparently were the most prevalent, and among these the Union flag seemed to be the general favorite. Nor did my former surprise diminish in the least when I landed, on finding that the market people were clad in European apparel, though, with the odd fancy which is remarkable among Indians who have any intercourse with Europeans, none of them were dressed in a complete suit of clothes. One wore a hat only, with a Manchester cotton, tied round his waist, another a shirt, another a jacket, &c. As all natives, with the exception of kings, are forbidden by law to wear trowsers, a common pocket handkerchief was generally substituted for that article of dress. The multitude formed the most motley group that we have ever seen ; nothing on earth could be more grotesque or ridiculous. Many of the men had a smattering of the English and French tongues.

The object for which we had stopped at the market having been effected to our satisfaction, we pulled out again into the main body of the river, and here we saw several canoes of amazing size coming toward us from the southward. Totally unsuspecting of danger of any kind from this quarter, astonishment at such a sight was the only emotion that entered my mind ; and we resolved to pass in the midst of these canoes, that we might more conveniently look on each side of us, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contained any thing belonging to us. At the next moment another *squadron* of the same description of vessels came in sight, in one of which I could discover my brother by his white shirt, and I fancied that he was returning to demand restitution of the animals of which he had been plundered, therefore I still felt perfectly easy in my mind.

When we drew nearer, it was apparent that these were all war canoes, of prodigious dimensions ; immense flags of various colors were displayed in them, a six-pounder was lashed to the bow of each ; and they were filled with women, and children, and armed men, whose weapons were in their hands. Such was their size, that each of them was paddled by nearly forty people. In pursuance of our arrangement, we passed through the midst of them, but could see nothing ; and we had advanced a few yards, when on looking behind us, we dis-

covered that the war canoes had been turned round, and were swiftly pursuing us. Appearances were hostile ; the apprehension of danger suddenly flashed across my mind ; we endeavored and struggled hard to escape ; but fear had taken possession of the minds of my companions, and as they were unable to exert themselves we did not get on : all was vain. Our canoe was overtaken in a moment, and nearly sent under water by the violence with which her pursuer dashed against her ; a second crash threw two or three of the Damuggoo people overboard, and by the shock of the third she capsized and sunk. All this seemed the work of enchantment, so quickly did events succeed each other ; yet, in this interval, a couple of ill-looking fellows had jumped into our canoe, and in the confusion which prevailed, began emptying it of its contents with astonishing celerity.

On finding myself in the water, my first care was, very naturally, to get out again ; and therefore looking round on a hundred ruffians, in whose countenances I could discern not a single trace of gentleness or pity, I swam to a large canoe, apart from the others, in which I observed two females and some little ones,—for in their breasts, thought I, compassion and tenderness must surely dwell. Perceiving my design, a sturdy man of gigantic stature, such as little children dream of, black as a coal, and with a most hideous countenance, suddenly sprang toward me, and stooping down, he laid hold of my arm, and snatched me with a violent jerk out of the water, letting me fall like a log into the canoe, without speaking a word.

I soon recovered, and sat up with my companions, the women and children, and discovered them wiping tears from their faces. In momentary expectation of a barbarous and painful death, ‘for what else,’ said I to myself, ‘can all this lead to?’ the scene around me produced little impression upon my mind ; my thoughts were wandering far away, and this day I thought was to be my last. I was meditating in this manner, heedless of all that was going on around me, and reckless of what came next, when I looked up and saw my brother at a little distance, gazing steadfastly upon me ; when he saw that I observed him, he held up his arm with a sorrowful look, and pointed his finger to the skies. O ! how distinctly and eloquently were all the emotions of his soul at that moment depicted in his countenance ! Who could not understand him ? He would have said, ‘Trust in God !’ I was touched with grief. Thoughts of home and friends rushed upon my mind, and almost overpowered me. My heart hovered over the scenes of infancy and boyhood. O how vividly did early impressions return to my soul ! But such feelings could be indulged only for a moment. Recollecting myself, I bade them, as I thought, an everlasting adieu ; and weaning my heart and thoughts from all worldly associations, with fervor I invoked the God of my life, before whose awful throne I imagined we should shortly appear, for fortitude and consolation in the hour of trial. My heart became subdued and softened ; my mind regained its serenity and composure ; and though there was nothing but tumult and distraction without, within all was tranquillity and resignation.

On account of the eagerness and anxiety with which every one endeavored to get near us in order to share the expected plunder, and

the confusion which prevailed in consequence, many of the war canoes clashed against each other with such violence, that three or four of them were upset at one time, and the scene which ensued baffles all description. Men, women, and children, clinging to their floating property, were struggling in the river, and screaming and crying out as loud as they were able, to be saved from drowning. Those that were more fortunate were beating their countrymen off from getting into their canoes, by striking their heads and hands with paddles, as they laid hold of the sides and nearly upset them. When the noise and disorder had in some measure ceased, my brother's canoe and that which I was in were by the side of each other, and he instantly took his shirt from his back and threw it over me, for I was naked. I then stepped into his canoe; for, whatever might be our fate, it would be a mournful kind of pleasure to comfort and console one another in the hour of trial and suffering. But I had no sooner done so, than I was dragged back again by a powerful arm, which I could not resist, and commanded by furious gestures to sit still on my peril.

Unwilling to aggravate our condition by obstinacy or bravado, which would have been vain and ridiculous, I made no reply, but did as I was desired, and silently watched the motions of our keepers. Now there were still other canoes passing by on their way to the market place, and among them was one of extraordinary size. Fancying it to be neutral, and hoping to make a diversion in our favor, I beckoned to those who were in it, and saluted them in the most friendly manner. But their savage bosoms were impenetrable to feeling. Surely they are destitute of all the amiable charities of life. I almost doubted whether they were human beings. Their hideous features were darkened by a terrible scowl; they mocked me, clapped their hands, and thumped upon a sullen drum; then with a loud and scornful laugh, the barbarians dashed their paddles into the water and went their way. This was a severe mortification; I felt confused and abashed; and my heart seemed to shrink within itself. I made no more such trials."

Seeing my brother swimming in the river, and people clinging on to what they could, I endeavored all in my power to induce the people of my canoe to go to him. But all I could do was in vain. Fearing that those in the water might upset the canoe by getting into her, or that she would be overloaded with them, they kept aloof and let them take their chance. My feelings at that moment were not to be described; I saw my brother nearly exhausted, and could render him no assistance, in addition to our luggage being plundered and sunk; and I had just formed the resolution of jumping into the water after him when I saw him picked up.

The canoes near me, as well as mine, hastened to a small sand island in the river, at a short distance from the market, and my brother arrived soon afterward. In a short time the Damuggoo people made their appearance, and also the chief of Bonny's messenger, having like ourselves lost every thing they had of their own property as well as their master's. This was in consequence of the confusion which had taken place; for these people, no doubt, had they been recognized, would not have been molested. We were all obliged to remain in our respective canoes, and made rather a sorry appearance in consequence

of the treatment we had received, which was increased by the tears and lamentations of our own canoe men, as well as those of Damuggoo, and neither my brother nor myself were in a condition to offer them any consolation.

We had been laying at the island ; but now the war canoes were all formed into a line and paddled into the market place before alluded to, which is called *Kirree*, and which likewise was the place of their destination. Here we were informed that a *palàver* would be held, to take the whole affair into consideration ; and about ten in the morning a multitude of men landed from the canoes, to " hold a council of war," if it may be so termed. For our parts we were not suffered to go on shore ; but constrained to remain in the canoes, without a covering for the head, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun. A person in a Mohammedan dress, who we learned afterward was a native of a place near Funda, came to us, and endeavored to cheer us, by saying that our hearts must not be sore,—that at the *palàver* which would be held, we had plenty of friends to speak for us. That all the people in the Mohammedan dresses who had come from Funda to attend the market were our friends, beside a great number of females who were well dressed in silk of different colors. These women wore large ivory anklets of about four or five pounds' weight, and bracelets of the same material, but not so large. About twenty canoes full of Damuggoo people had arrived from the various towns near Damuggoo. These persons, having heard how we had been treated, also became our friends, so that we now began to think there was a chance of our escaping, and this intelligence put us into better spirits.

A short time before noon, the river being pretty clear, several guns were fired as a signal for all the canoes to repair to the market and attend the *palàver*. Eager to learn the result of the discussion at the assembly, in which we were so intimately concerned, but without the means of gaining any intelligence, we passed the hours in fearful suspense, yielding by turns to the pleasing illusions of hope, and the gloomy forebodings of despair.

The heat of the sun, to which we were exposed, was excessive, and having no shirt on even to protect my shoulders from the scorching rays, I contrived to borrow an old cloth from one of the canoe men, who spoke a little English. Some of the market women came down to our canoe, and looked on us with much concern and pity, spreading their hands out, as much as to say, God has saved you from a cruel death. They then retired, and in a few minutes afterward returned, bringing with them a bunch of plantains and two cocoa-nuts. This was an acceptable offering, and we gladly took it and divided it among our people and ourselves.

A stir was now made in the market, and a search commenced through all the canoes for our goods, some of which were found, although the greater part of them were at the bottom of the river. These were landed and placed in the middle of the market place. We were now invited by the mallams to land, and told to look at our goods and see if they were all there. To my great satisfaction I immediately recognized the box containing our books, and one of my brother's journals. The medicine chest was by its side, but both were filled with water.

A large carpet bag, containing all our wearing apparel, was lying cut open, and deprived of its contents, with the exception of a shirt, a pair of trowsers, and a waistcoat. Many valuable articles which it had contained were gone. The whole of my journal, with the exception of a note book with remarks from Rabba to this place, was lost. Four guns, one of which had been the property of the late Mr. Park, four cutlasses, and two pistols were gone. Nine elephants' tusks, the finest I had seen in the country, which had been given me by the kings of Wowow and Boossa, a quantity of ostrich feathers, some handsome leopard skins, a great variety of seeds, all our buttons, cowries, and needles, which were necessary for us to purchase provisions with,—all were missing, and said to have been sunk in the river. The two boxes and the bag were all that could be found.

We had been desired to seat ourselves, which, as soon as we had done, a circle gathered round us, and began questioning us; but at that moment the sound of screams and the clashing of arms reached the spot; and the multitude, catching fire at the noise, drew their swords, and leaving us to ourselves they ran away to the place whence it proceeded. The poor women were hurrying with their little property toward the river from all directions, and imagining that we ourselves might be trampled under foot, were we to remain longer sitting on the ground, we joined the flying fugitives, and all rushing into the water, sprang into canoes, and pushed off the land, whither our pursuers dared not follow us. The origin of all this was a desire for more plunder on the part of the Eboe people. Seeing the few things of ours in the market place which had been taken from their canoes, they made a rush to the place to recover them. The natives, who were Kirree people, stood ready for them, armed with swords, daggers, and guns; and the savage Eboes, finding themselves foiled in the attempt, retreated to their canoes without risking an attack, although we fully expected to have been spectators of a furious and bloody battle. The noise and uproar which this produced were dreadful, and beyond all description.

This after all was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as my brother and I, having unconsciously jumped into the same canoe, found ourselves in each other's company, and were thus afforded, for a short time at least, the pleasure of conversing without interruption; and he then related to me all that had happened to him since the morning. Like me, he had no foresight of mischief, or apprehensions of danger, and therefore he took no means whatever of shunning the immense canoes which he perceived were approaching him with their large flags. But, on the contrary, these striking and uncommon appendages, to which neither of us had been accustomed, served to excite his curiosity and win his admiration rather than awaken any fear or suspicion of danger.' (*Ib.* pp. 181-194.)

After being detained here for a short time, and suffering every sort of vexation, they were conveyed to Eboe town, to be disposed of as the king should determine. After deliberating for a long time on their case, they were finally informed by the king—

‘That circumstances having thrown us in the way of his subjects, by

the laws and usages of the country he was not only entitled to our own persons, but had equal right to those of our attendants ; that he should take no farther advantage of his good fortune than by exchanging us for as much English goods as would amount in value to twenty slaves. In order to have the matter fairly arranged and settled, he should, of his own accord, prevent our leaving the town, till such time as our countrymen at Brass or Bonny should pay for our ransom, having understood from ourselves that the English at either of those rivers would afford us whatever assistance we might require, with cheerfulness and alacrity. Concerning the goods of which we had been robbed at Kirree, he assured us that he would use his utmost exertions to get them restored. He lamented that circumstance more than any one, but he denied that a single subject of his had any thing to do with it, and attributed the whole of that unfortunate affair to the rashness and brutality of a certain people that inhabited a country nearly opposite to his own, whose monarch was his particular friend, therefore he apprehended little difficulty in seeing justice done us ; but then, said he, 'it is necessary that you should wait here for an indefinite time till a council of that nation be held, when the plunderers will be examined, and your claims established. The Damuggoo people that have come with you have, like yourselves, suffered much loss ; for my own part I shall make them a present of a slave or two as a compensation, and they have my permission to go along with you for the present, which I understand you have promised their monarch ; but you must not expect them to be your guide to the sea, for their responsibility ends here.

When all this was interpreted to me by Antonio, I was thunder-struck. It was in vain that I assured Obie that there was not the slightest necessity for our detention in the town, that our countrymen would redeem us the moment they should see us, but not before ; and equally unavailing were my solicitations for him to alter this arrangement and suffer us to depart ; but the fears of his subjects, and the representations of the men of Brass, had made too deep an impression on his mind to be so easily eradicated : we found it too late either to implore or remonstrate.

This final decision of the king is a bitter stroke to us ; for we fondly indulged the hope of a more favorable result from the deliberations of the savage council, at whose dissolution we expected to be sent to the sea coast without being perplexed with farther embarrassments. We have now to await the return of a messenger from thence, who has not yet been sent on his errand, and he is to bring back with him the value of twenty slaves ere we obtain our freedom. Heaven only knows whether the masters of English vessels at Bonny or Brass have the ability or will feel a disposition to ransom us. We only know that if disposed of at all, we shall be sold for infinitely more than we are worth.

As may naturally be supposed, I returned home much depressed and afflicted, to inform my brother of the result of the palàver, and he was as greatly surprised and affected as myself at the intelligence. But though we are full of trouble and uneasiness at our gloomy situation, yet we do not repine at the Divine dispensations of that almighty Providence which has comforted us in the hour of adversity, and re-

lieved us in times of pain and distress,—which has rescued us from the lap of danger, and snatched us from the jaws of death.' (*Ib.* pp. 225–227.)

On the 12th of November they took their departure from this miserable place, and on the 15th arrived at *Brass* town, where they were introduced to King Forday, whom they found to be a complacent, venerable looking old man. This they found to be a wretched and filthy place, more so than any they had seen. After much vexatious delay, they were finally informed by the king of the following conditions of release:—

'He gave me to understand, as well as he could, that it was customary for every white man who came to the river, to pay him four bars. I expressed my ignorance and surprise at this, but was soon silenced by his saying, "That is my demand, and I shall not allow you to leave this town until you give me a *book* for that amount." Seeing that I had nothing to do but to comply with his demand, I gave him a bill on Lake, the commander of the English vessel, after which he said, "To-morrow you may go to the brig, take one servant with you; but your mate" (meaning my brother) "must remain here with your seven people, until my son, King Boy, shall bring the goods for himself and me; after this they shall be sent on board without delay." Much as I regretted the necessity of parting with my brother, I was obliged to agree to this arrangement; and with the hopes of profiting by it, I told King Forday that we were all very hungry, and begged him to send us a fowl or two, which he promised to do.' (*Ib.* p. 257.)

Complying with these conditions Richard Lander left Brass town, and on the 18th came to an English brig, lying at anchor near the mouth of the *Niger*, or as it is here called, *Nun*. But what was his disappointment at finding the unfeeling captain as callous to his sufferings as any of the most hard-hearted Africans had been. After much difficulty, however, he succeeded in rescuing himself and brother from the hands of the African prince, though he was unable, in consequence of the unfeeling heart of the English captain, to satisfy the demands which had been made for his ransom, and which he had pledged should be given. The following account of the manner in which they escaped from this place, will show the dangerous navigation at the mouth of this mighty, and hitherto mysterious river:—

'At ten in the morning, the vessel was got under way, and we dropped down the river. At noon the breeze died away, and we were obliged to let go an anchor to prevent our drifting on the western breakers at the mouth of the river. A few minutes more would have been fatal to us, and the vessel was fortunately stopped, although the depth of water where she lay was only five fathoms. The rollers, as the large high waves are called, which came into the river over the bar, were so high, that they sometimes passed nearly over the bow of the vessel, and caused her to ride very uneasily by her anchor. We had been obliged to anchor immediately abreast of the Pilots' town,

and expected every moment that we should be fired at from their battery. Time was of the greatest importance to us ; we had made Boy our enemy, and expected, before we could get out of the river, he would summon his people and make an attack on us, while our party amounted only to twenty men, two-thirds of whom were Africans. The pilot also, whom Lake had offended so much, is known to be a bold and treacherous ruffian. He is the same person who steered the brig Susan among the breakers, by which that vessel narrowly escaped destruction, with the loss of her windlass and an anchor and cable. The fellow had done this merely with the hopes of obtaining a part of the wreck, as it drifted on shore. Another vessel, a Liverpool oil-trader, was actually lost on the bar by the treachery of the same individual, who, having effected his purpose by placing her in a situation from which she could not escape, jumped overboard and swam to his canoe, which was at a short distance. The treatment of the survivors of this wreck is shocking to relate : they were actually stripped of their clothes, and allowed to die of hunger. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the misdeeds that are laid to this fellow's charge, which have, no doubt, lost nothing by report ; but, after making all reasonable allowances for exaggeration, his character appears in a most revolting light, and the fact of his running these vessels on the bar proves him to be a desperate and consummate villain. This same fellow is infinitely more artful and intelligent than any of his countrymen, and is one of the handsomest black men that we have seen.

Not long after we had dropped the anchor, we observed the pilot, with the help of a glass, walking on the beach and watching us occasionally. A multitude of half naked suspicious looking fellows were likewise straggling along the shore, while others were seen emerging from a grove of cocoa-trees and the thick bushes near it. These men were all armed, chiefly with muskets, and they subsequently assembled in detached groups to the number of several hundreds, and appeared to be consulting about attacking the vessel. Nothing less than this, and to be fired at from the battery, was expected by us ; and there is no doubt that the strength and loftiness of the brig only deterred them from so doing. The same people were hovering on the beach till very late in the evening, when they dispersed ; many of them could be seen even at midnight, so that we were obliged to keep a good look-out till the morning.

Thursday, November 25.—The vessel rode very uneasily all night, in consequence of the long heavy waves which set in from the bar ; these are technically called by sailors *ground-swell*, being different from the waves which are raised while the wind blows ; the latter generally break at the top, while the former are quite smooth, and roll with great impetuosity in constant succession, forming a deep furrow between them, which, with the force of the wave, is very dangerous to vessels at anchor. Our motions were still closely watched by the natives. About eleven we got under way, but were obliged to anchor again in the afternoon, as the water was not deep enough for the vessel to pass over the bar. The mate sounded the bar again, and placed a buoy as a mark for the vessel to pass over in the deepest water.

Friday, November 26.—The wind favoring us this morning, we made

another attempt at getting out of the river. We had already made some progress when the wind again died away, and the current setting us rapidly over to the eastern breakers, we were obliged to let go an anchor to save us from destruction. We could see nothing of the buoy, and have no doubt that it was washed away by the current; our anchorage was in three and a half fathoms water, and the ground-swell, which now set in, heaved the vessel up and down in such a frightful manner, that we expected every moment to see the chain cable break. As soon as we dropped our anchor, the tide rushed past the vessel at the rate of eight miles an hour. After the ebb tide had ceased running, the swell gradually subsided, and the vessel rode easily.

The mate was again sent to sound the bar, and in about three hours afterward returned with the information that two fathoms and three quarters was the deepest water he could find. The bar extends across the mouth of the river in the form of a crescent, leaving a very narrow and shallow entrance for vessels in the middle, which is generally concealed by the surf and foam of the adjacent breakers. When the wind is light and the tide high, and the surface of the water smooth, excepting in a few places, the bar is then most dangerous. We observed several fires made by the natives on the beach, which were supposed to be signals for us to return.

Saturday, November 27.—We passed a restless and most unpleasant night. The captain and the people were much alarmed for the safety of the brig. The heavy ground-swell which set in, increased by the strength of the tide, caused her to pitch and labor so hard, that a man was placed to watch the cable and give notice the moment it complained,—a technical expression, which meant the moment it gave signs of breaking. Daylight had scarcely dawned when the pall of the windlass broke. The purpose of this is to prevent the windlass from turning round on its axis against any strain to which it may be subjected, and consequently it was no sooner broken than the windlass flew round with incredible velocity, having nothing to resist the strain of the cable which was passed round it. The chain cable ran out so swiftly, that in half a minute the windlass was broken to atoms. My brother and I with our people rendered all the assistance in our power to prevent the ship from drifting. We succeeded in fastening the cable to ring-bolts in the deck, until we got sufficient of it clear to go round the capstan, which we had no sooner effected, than the ring-bolts were fairly drawn out of the deck by the strain on the cable.

About eight A. M. a terrific wave, called by sailors a *sea*, struck the vessel with tremendous force and broke the chain cable. "The cable is gone!" shouted a voice, and the next instant the captain cried out in a firm, collected tone, "Cut away the kedge!" which was promptly obeyed, and the vessel was again stopped from drifting among the breakers. The man who had been stationed to look out on the cable came running aft on deck as soon as he had given notice of the danger, calling out that all was over. "Good God!" was the passionate exclamation of every one, and a slight confusion ensued. But the captain was prepared for the worst; he gave his orders with firmness, and behaved with promptness and decision.

We were riding by the kedge, a small anchor, which, however, was

the only one left us, and on which the safety of the brig now depended. The breakers were close under our stern, and this was not expected to hold ten minutes,—it was a forlorn hope—every eye was fixed on the raging surf, and our hearts thrilled with agitation, expecting every moment that the vessel would be dashed in pieces. A few long and awful minutes were passed in this state, which have left an indelible impression on our minds. Never shall I forget the chief mate saying to me, “Now, sir, every one for himself; a few minutes will be the last with us.” The tumultuous sea was raging in mountainous waves close by us, their foam dashing against the sides of the brig, which was only prevented from being carried among them by a weak anchor and cable. The natives, from whom we could expect no favor, were busy on shore making large fires, and other signals, for us to desert the brig and land at certain places, expecting, no doubt, every moment to see her a prey to the waves, and those who escaped their fury to fall into their hands. Wretched resource! the sea would have been far more merciful than they.

Such was our perilous situation, when a fine sea-breeze set in, which literally saved us from destruction. The sails were loosened to relieve the anchor from the strain of the vessel, and she rode out the ebb tide without drifting. At ten A. M. the tide had nearly ceased running out, and the fury of the sea rather abated, but it was quite impossible that the brig could ride out another ebb tide where she lay, with the kedge anchor alone to hold her: the only chance left us, therefore, was to get to sea, and the captain determined on crossing the bar, although there appeared to be little chance of success. At half past ten A. M. he manned the boat with two of our men, and two Kroomen belonging to the brig, and sent them to tow, while the anchor was got on board. This had no sooner been done than the wind fell light, and, instead of drifting over to the western breakers as yesterday and the day before, the brig was now set toward those on the eastern side, and again we had a narrow escape. With the assistance of the boat and good management, we at length passed clear over the bar on the edge of the breakers, in a depth of quarter less three fathoms, and made sail to the eastward. Our troubles were now at an end: by the protection of a merciful Providence we had escaped dangers, the very thoughts of which had filled us with horror; and with a grateful heart and tears of joy for all his mercies, we offered up a silent prayer of thanks for our deliverance.’ (*Ib.* pp. 283–289.)

On the first of December they landed at the island of Fernando Po, on which the British had formed a small settlement for the convenience of trade on the coast of Africa, this island being situated within a few hours’ sail of the Gold Coast. Here they were cordially received and hospitably entertained by the governor of the island. After remaining here for some time to refresh themselves, which, indeed, they much needed after such a fatiguing and suffering voyage, they set sail January 22d for Rio Janeiro, where they arrived on the 16th of March, and on the 9th of June arrived from thence to Portsmouth, in England, after an absence of one year and five months.

Thus has the problem, so long the object of pursuit by all European travellers and scientific men, been solved by the journey of the Messrs. Landers, respecting the source and termination of the Niger. It is to be regretted, however, that our tourists had not been better furnished by education for a more accurate survey of the countries through which they passed, and the exact distances from one city to another, that the length of this mighty river from Timbuctoo to its mouth might have been ascertained. It is true a map has been constructed from their journal; but whoever reads the journal must be convinced that the map cannot be depended upon for accuracy, either as to the particular course of the river in many places; its distance from one place to another, nor the depth of its channel. From the map, however, it appears that from Badágray, which is situated in $6^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude, they travelled a little east of north, passing through several populous villages, until they reached the Niger in the kingdom of Boossa, in about latitude $10^{\circ} 20'$ north, making a distance, on a straight line, of two hundred and seventy-six miles, but probably the zigzag course they travelled, it must have been nearly twice that distance. From thence they ascended the river, in the manner before described, about sixty miles, and entered the river Cubbie, which they ascended about seventy miles to a city of that name. Not being able to penetrate farther in a northern direction, they returned, and descended the Niger, or Quorra, as it is called by the natives, until they entered, as already mentioned, from the mouth of the river into the Gulf of Guinea, in latitude $4^{\circ} 20'$ north, and longitude $6^{\circ} 10'$ east from London. From the junction of the Cubbie river with the Niger, in the kingdom of Yáoorie, its course is nearly south, for about one hundred and twenty miles, receiving several tributary streams in the distance; here comes in the Moussa river from the west, and the Niger turns suddenly to the south-east for about twenty miles to the city of Rabba. The banks of the river along this distance are highly cultivated, and thickly populated. From Rabba the river runs in an easterly direction for about one hundred and twenty miles to the city of Kacunda, when it gradually turns in a direction a little west of south, and continues nearly the same course until it enters the Atlantic at Cape Formosa. The distance from Kacunda to Cape Formosa, according to the map, is about two hundred and seventy miles, and the width of the river is from three to six miles, the banks generally low and marshy, sometimes studded by thick jungles, behind which are numerous villages, thickly populated, and in many places the land is highly cultivated. About forty miles below Kacunda, the river Tshadda, a large stream from the north-east, empties into the Niger. It runs through the Funda country, which was conjectured by some former travellers to be the

termination of the Niger. About the sixth degree of north latitude, or about ninety miles from the sea, 'The Delta of the Quorra,' or Niger, begins; and the banks along the river are generally very low, often overflowed by the waters of the river, and the country is very unhealthy. It empties into the Gulf of Guinea, by several mouths, the principal of which is called *Nun*. It appears from the map that the whole distance of the river from Yaoorie to Cape Formosa is about six hundred miles.

In reading this journal one thing has struck us with force. It seems that in the neighborhood of the Delta of the Quorra, the natives were far more barbarous in their manners, more artful and intriguing, and much more quarrelsome among themselves, and unfeeling toward strangers, than they were in the more interior parts of the country. Is this owing to the more frequent intercourse with European traders? For it seems that among the inhabitants in the neighborhood of the mouths of the Niger, the Europeans, and particularly the English, have long carried on a traffic with the natives, and that on the island of Fernando Po, which is separated from the continent by a strait of only about twenty miles wide, a fort has been erected and a garrison established for the purpose of protecting this trade. It would seem, therefore, and more especially from the conduct of the unfeeling captain of the brig which the Landers found near the mouth of the river, that this intercourse, instead of mending the morals or bettering the condition of the Africans, has only tended to corrupt them and to make them worse.

Here also has been the great mart for the sale of captive slaves. Hence a spirit of war has been fostered among the native tribes, for the accursed purpose of making captives of each other that they might sell them as slaves to European traders. Several instances were witnessed by our travellers where the natives were carrying their captives to market that they might deliver them over to mercenary traders in everlasting bondage. Thus has the horrid traffic in human flesh, begun by the Portuguese when they first visited this continent, spread desolation and woe into the interior of Africa, and made the hearts of mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters, to wring with the bitterest anguish. Is it any wonder that these black men hate and dread the presence of a white man? Could it be expected otherwise than that their jealousies should be aroused whenever visited by European travellers, lest their intention should be first to penetrate their country, ascertain its geography, and then reduce them to perpetual bondage? Should foreigners visit our shores, and offer a price to the governors of our states and the authorities of our cities for their countrymen, and thus seduce away our sons and daughters into perpetual slavery, should we not hate them with an everlasting hatred, and slay them with as little

remorse as the butcher does his ox? And what if these merciless intruders upon our territories should succeed in provoking us to cruel and sanguinary wars among ourselves, for the purpose of seizing upon each other's persons that we might devote them to a degrading slavery in a foreign land? Would not every lover of virtue, every one in whose breast the feelings of natural love have not been extinguished by the love of gold, rise up with indignation to repel such cruel and blood-thirsty invaders of our soil, and destroyers of our social and individual rights? Whenever, therefore, we talk of African cruelty, let us remember with shame who and what have contributed to excite it. Let us only cast a look at the abominable traffic which has been carried on for more than four centuries, by every cruel artifice and intrigue, which a refined cunning, a selfish and mercenary spirit, and a domineering sense of superiority, could possibly invent—and then ask ourselves who has been most in fault in this merciless business.

Another thing which has contributed to facilitate and keep up those perpetual wars which have drenched and continue to drench the soil of Africa with human blood, and to entail upon its inhabitants so much misery, is the number of petty and despotic sovereigns by which it is governed. In Africa we see fulfilled the declaration of the wise king of Israel, 'For the transgression of the land, many are the princes thereof.' This vast continent is divided into numerous small kingdoms, each of which is under the control of a chief invested with absolute sway, who is generally honored by his subjects as a god. These are all jealous of their rights and prerogatives. Hence on the most frivolous pretence, more especially as he hopes to increase his wealth and influence by the number of his captives, whom he intends to sell into slavery to some European renegado, one of these chiefs makes war upon his neighbor, which is often prosecuted in the most sanguinary manner. By this means many parts of the country are nearly depopulated, while others are left to famish for the want of the necessities of life, because none are left to cultivate the land. These wars have caused one of the greatest impediments to most of the travellers who have attempted to visit the interior of Africa, and our present tourists were often annoyed in consequence of them. And as one of the chief causes of these wars has been the degrading and wretched slave trade, let this be annihilated, and the destructive wars may be in a great measure discontinued.

In passing through the narrative before us, though we could not but admire the courage, the perseverance, the heroism, and the contempt of dangers and sufferings evinced by the Messrs. Landers, yet there are many parts of their conduct which we think highly censurable. Their attempts in some instances to bribe the natives, the rough man-

ner with which, according to their own account, they frequently treated those who, impelled by a curiosity natural to all human beings, were desirous to see the face of a white man, by violently thrusting them from their persons, even at the time they were enjoying their hospitality, were calculated to irritate and provoke the natives. Instead of conciliating their favor by a kind and courteous conduct, as they manifestly should have done, they often treated their visitors with a roughness of manner, more becoming the vulgarity of a common sailor, than of English gentlemen, who were travelling through the country for the benefit of science and humanity. We allow indeed that the natives were frequently repulsive in their manners, and abrupt and obtrusive in their visits; but what else could be expected from unpolished barbarians, totally ignorant of the etiquette of fashionable life, who were suddenly roused by the appearance of strangers, differing in the color of their skin, their dress and language from any persons that they had ever seen or perhaps heard of before? A desire to see, to examine closely, a human being so different from ourselves is natural to man, and excites a curiosity not to be easily repressed. Instead therefore of treating the manifestations of this curiosity with haughty contempt, though it might have been attended with some sacrifice of comfort and convenience, it should have been met with kindness, and have been gratified as far as practicable. We recollect hearing of a general of one of our armies during our last war, whose name had become somewhat famous, who was travelling through the country, and, stopping at a public house, the people in the village thronged around to obtain a sight of him. To gratify their curiosity he hoisted the window and exhibited himself to their view. How much more politic as well as kind was this line of conduct than it would have been to repulse them with angry looks and threatening language.

Though there are many highly interesting incidents related in these journals, and the topography of some parts of the country given with apparent accuracy, yet they are too much filled up with individual details and sufferings, conversations with the petty sovereigns, and others whom they visited. These things render them somewhat monotonous and tiresome. But notwithstanding these and other defects which might be pointed out, we can recommend the volumes to our readers as containing valuable information respecting many parts of the interior of Africa, and as affording a picturesque view of the banks of the Niger from the kingdom of Yàoorie to its entrance into the ocean at Cape Formosa in the Gulf of Guinea.

The success of this enterprise will doubtless open a way for British merchants to extend their commercial intercourse into the interior regions of Africa, as the Niger, though in some places rapid in its cur-

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rent, is navigable by steam boats, at least as far as the kingdom of Boossa, where the rocky channel commences; and as this nation have nobly protested against the slave trade, should they succeed in establishing trading posts along the river, it is to be hoped that they will discourage and finally annihilate this abominable traffic in human flesh and blood. Indeed, an expedition, consisting of a brig of one hundred and seventy tons, and two steamers built expressly for the purpose, under the superintendence of Mr. Lander, has already sailed from Liverpool for a voyage up the Niger.

But a more important and lasting benefit may be expected to result from this expedition. Now that Christendom is on the alert for extending the empire of Jesus Christ by means of Bible and missionary operations, this extensive country offers a promising field for cultivation. From the account which the Landers have given of many of these native tribes, the people in general are docile and teachable, actuated by an eager curiosity to become acquainted with European customs and manners, and already are possessed with no little veneration for white men; and hence if men of God are sent among them, qualified by their intelligence, by their Christian meekness, zeal, and kindness, to conciliate their favor, and to instruct them in the great principles of Christianity, as well as to exhibit its purity and excellence in their lives, we may anticipate a successful issue of their labors. And why should not men of God be willing to suffer as much to rescue these African idolaters from their thralldom as the men of the world are to extend the empire of knowledge, to acquire human fame, or to enlarge the sphere of commerce? We have seen in the various travellers who have at different times penetrated into Africa with a view to ascertain its topography that they have subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships, to sleepless nights and wearisome days, to great bodily fatigues and privations, and even to death itself. What an example is this for the Christian missionary! Let but suitable means and men be employed for this grand enterprise, and the shores, the hills and valleys of Africa shall again resound with the high praises of God.

ON TEMPERANCE.

A review of the Address of the late General Conference on Temperance.

[WE regret that the following article, which has been furnished by a correspondent, did not come to hand sooner. We trust, however, that it will receive that attention which its merits demand, and produce those practical results which it is intended to effect, and that the grand cause of temperance will be essentially aided in its forward march,

both by the address itself, and this brief but pertinent notice of it. Both heaven and earth are moving forward this mighty engine of reformation. God is speaking from heaven in a voice more alarming to inebriates than thunder, in the sweeping pestilence which is hurling them by thousands to a premature grave, while His servants are echoing His admonitory language by means of temperance operations.]

Among all the benevolent enterprises by which our age and country are distinguished, there is no one which in my humble view is less understood or less appreciated, than that which is known as the 'temperance cause.' I have watched its progress from the earliest efforts which have been made in the American nation and in the American Churches, with a solicitude more ardent than that felt on any other subject, and have hailed each period of its acceleration, and each triumph of its principles, with unmingled thanksgiving to the God of providence and grace, whose cause it unquestionably is, and under whose guidance and blessing I believe it is destined to revolutionize, if not evangelize the world.

High indeed has been my complacent gratulation, that I am honored by a connection with a Christian Church, in whose foundation the *principles* of the 'temperance reformation' have been so deeply laid, by the uncompromising and fearless avowal of them, on the part of our illustrious progenitor; at a time, too, when a 'moral courage' was required, to which modern reformers furnish no parallel. And the name of Wesley—though identified with every thing great and good, as a philosopher, scholar, Christian, and divine, in my earliest recollections—received an additional consecration, when I found among his writings the clear, forcible, and conclusive testimony against the *use, manufacture, and sale of all spirituous liquors*, which he ceased not to denounce as a gross immorality, a curse upon humanity, and a disgrace to the Church. Is it not passing strange, that the professed followers of this apostle of temperance, in Europe and America, should have so far forgotten the principles and practice of their founder, that thousands among them should habitually and daily indulge themselves in the use of spirituous liquors, by a latitudinarian interpretation of the ambiguous rule which allows the use of them 'in cases of necessity?' And is it not still more strange that thousands more, bearing the name of Wesley, should owe their support and fortunes to the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, when he had affirmed of all such, and the deep tones of his voice are still echoing in the Churches, 'They are poisoners-general; they murder mankind by wholesale, and drive them to hell like sheep?'

I need not attempt to account for these discordant anomalies in the features and history of Methodism, on any other ground than referring them to the infirmity of our common nature, parallel cases of inconsistency between principles and practice being every where visible, in institutions merely human. It may be sufficient for my purpose to say, that these facts, proclaiming our departure as a people from primitive and original principles on this one topic, have been the subject of frequent and perpetual rebuke and denunciation from the pulpit and the press during every period of our history; and farther it will be acknow-

ledged that a large proportion of our ministry and people, both by precept and example, have adhered to the rigid interpretation of Mr. Wesley's rule and practice on this subject, viz. *total abstinence* from the '*manufacture, sale, and use of spirituous liquors, except in cases of EXTREME necessity.*' The existence of these evils in our Church has been *suffered*, as slavery and kindred evils are suffered; but never *authorized*.

While the followers of Wesley alone, with the exception of the society of Friends, have been so long and so zealously laboring to establish the principle and practice of total abstinence from the traffic and use of ardent spirits; deprecating it as an evil of fearful magnitude, and deploring the cruel mischiefs resulting to the cause of humanity from this parent of abominations; it will be recollected, that the whole weight of the authority and example of most other denominations has been, until within a few years, thrown into the other scale; and hence in publicly denouncing the traffic and use of spirituous liquors, we were not only contending against fearful odds, but when we proclaimed the one and the other to be immoral and anti-christian, we were accused of censoriously unchristianizing our neighbors; and alas for us, we were obliged to admit that many of our own communicants were under the same condemnation. Still, however, the mantle of Wesley has fallen on very many kindred spirits, and the deep tones of his rebukes have been continually re-echoed in our churches, and not without annual evidences of the gradual purification of our communion from this monstrous evil.

The process of reformation was, however, slow; for when interest and inclination are so largely implicated, as in the traffic and use of so tempting and so profitable a commodity, it has not been easy for ecclesiastical censures and pulpit rebukes to be heard, amid the noise of multitudes of professing Christians who surround us, and heed not to pursue the even tenor of their way, '*caring for none of these things.*' And yet within a few years, our hands have been greatly strengthened, and our success increased, even in the work of purifying our own Church, by the mighty noise as '*the sound of many waters*' which has burst forth from every part of the land through the laudable efforts of the American and other temperance societies. The nation and the Churches have awoke from their long sleep on this subject, and the sound has gone forth in every part of our country, the pulpits and the press have united to rouse the latent energies of the people to their danger and their remedy, and the impulse thus given to the ball of revolution on this subject has received an impetus of which eternity alone will disclose the results.

Meanwhile, in common with our Church, I have hailed every victory that has been gained as another triumph of principle over appetite and interest, and another herald of the extension and success of the other efforts designed to evangelize the world. And I have been waiting with anxious solicitude, for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, numbering more than half a million of the population, to present one unbroken phalanx in defence and support of her original principles, by openly, publicly, and unitedly avowing them in the face of earth and heaven; and at the expense, if needs be, of every lover

of the *wages* of iniquity, or of *iniquity* itself in the Church or in the land.

I rejoice greatly that this has been done, and I will add, ably and nobly done in the 'Address of the General Conference,' adopted *unanimously* in May last, by the delegates of the several annual conferences, and since printed in the Christian Advocate and Journal, and also in the form of a *tract*, issued from our Book Room, according to the express direction of said General Conference. This address is from the pen of the Rev. Henry B. Bascom, professor of moral science in Augusta college, Kentucky; was 'read in the General Conference, and adopted *unanimously* as a *summary expression* of the views of that body on the subject of temperance;' and is at once a scientific and religious document, containing in itself a masterly argument, an eloquent remonstrance, and a forcible appeal; and is one, the effect of which cannot but be felt, wherever it is read.

The address begins by a declaration that the General Conference 'view the subject of temperance as a question of *intense and growing interest*,' and after a just tribute to the fact that 'much has been accomplished in preserving those immediately under our charge proverbially pure from the stain, and free from the curse of intemperance,' and also to the additional fact that '*strict and exemplary* abstinence from indulgence in the use of *ardent spirits and intoxicating liquors of every sort*, will be found to have been a part of the moral discipline of our Church from the earliest date of its existence and operations,' we have on the part of the General Conference the admission, that 'our success has not been entire, and that much remains to be done before we can realize the great object of our long-continued efforts in this very interesting department of Christian morals.'

The address next proceeds to show that the use of wine and strong drink is 'broadly and unsparingly condemned in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as directly *inconsistent with Christian* character, and fatally contravening all the hopes and claims of moral excellence.' And an array of the testimony of inspiration, presenting the varied warnings and denunciations of the sacred volume on this subject, both from the Old and New Testaments, follows in proof of this remark, which one would think would cause the drunkard to tremble over his glass, and harrow up the soul of every dealer in the accursed thing, who is not already, in the language of the address, 'utterly reckless both of the welfare of this life, and the more weighty interests of immortality in another.' And this mass of Scripture authority introduces a sentiment, which will not be controverted by any who believe the Bible, that 'the common use of alcoholic intoxicating liquors, of whatever kind, is strictly and unequivocally forbidden in the Scriptures, as plainly and fatally injurious to the best interests of man in time and in eternity.' It is thence conclusively and irrefragably argued that 'as the experience of all ages and nations has furnished indubitable proof that the *use of ardent spirits* is totally inconsistent with the *essential happiness and relative usefulness* of man, and being thus opposed to the benevolent intentions of Heaven and provisions of nature, must be considered as a transgression of the will of God.'

The address next demonstrates from the nature of alcohol, which

is the principle of inebriety in all intoxicating drinks, that it is not only unnatural and unnecessary, but absolutely poisonous whenever introduced into the stomach, in however small proportions, and hence urges the doctrine of total abstinence. The following paragraphs of the address especially deserve attention:—

‘We are the more disposed to press the necessity of *entire abstinence*, because there seems to be no safe line of distinction between the *moderate* and *immoderate* use of intoxicating drinks,—the transition from a temperate to an intemperate use of them, is almost as certain as it is insensible; indeed, with us *it is a question of great moral interest, whether a man can indulge in their use at all, and be considered temperate*. We have seen that the natural, unperturbed appetite of man does not ask for them, and the only motive that can possibly determine such an indulgence, is to obtain from them a vivid impression upon the nerves, more or less agreeable at the time, but utterly oblivious of better, because more salutary feelings. This result is unnatural, and of course it offers violence to the constitutional order and functionary uniformity of nature, and we respectfully submit whether the means therefore must not be sinful?’

It has been already remarked, that the essential constituent in all intoxicating liquors, producing inebriety, is alcohol, and that this is found in large proportions, not only in the different kinds of distilled liquors, but also in most of the wines, and vinous, as well as malt preparations drank in this country. Who is not alarmed, not to say confounded, when he reflects upon the amount of this bewitching poison which is found in all our fashionable drinks! How can a Christian account to his conscience and his God for swallowing daily an amount of *carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen*, of which alcohol is compounded, and which if taken separately from other neutralizing ingredients, would deprive him of life perhaps in a few hours! In a bottle of brandy, for example, (we are guided in the estimate by Saussure and Brande,) there is more alcohol, by actual measurement, than water—in *our* best wines, say Port and Madeira, as received and used in this country, nearly one half is alcohol—about six ounces of this poison will be found in a quart of strong cider, and little less than four in a bottle of porter or ale! In a brief address, however, we can only bring these facts into view in a summary way. We propose them for examination and reflection, and we implore the thousands under our charge to bestow upon the whole subject the attention it so obviously and pressingly deserves and demands.

The great and increasing interest, the deep and lasting stake we must always have, as a Church, in preventing and curing the evils of intemperance, will furnish an obvious and commanding vindication of the course we have adopted, in making this appeal to the good sense and enlightened piety of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We consider all intemperance, whether in its incipient or more advanced stages, as an abuse of the physical force and vigor of man, and seriously deducting from the integrity of his mental powers and moral purposes; and we therefore invoke the aid of our people in an attempt to banish the evil from our Church altogether.’

After a picture of the gloomy calamities under which our country is

groaning, and a touching description of the ruinous personal and domestic evils which the use of spirituous liquors has entailed upon human kind, it is gravely and religiously inquired, 'Can those be innocent who contribute to secure such results, whether by the pestilential example of *temperate* drinking as it is called, or the still *more criminal* means of furnishing the poisonous preparation by *manufacture or traffic* for the degradation and ruin of others?' And then follow the concluding paragraphs of this invaluable address, which, as they contain the language and sentiments of our own Wesley long before the present impulse on this subject was felt by others, will be regarded by every friend of the cause, and especially by every Methodist, as worthy at least of serious and candid consideration. At the same time it presents the cheering truth so welcome at this important crisis that these sons of Wesley have not degenerated from the principles or practice of our illustrious founder.

'The man who drinks intemperately ruins himself, and is the cause of much discomfort and inquietude, and perhaps actual misery in the social scene in which he moves; but the manufacturer, and those who are engaged in the traffic of ardent spirits and other intoxicating liquors, do the work of death by wholesale; they are devoted by misguided enterprise to the *ruin of human kind*, and become directly accessory, although not intended by them, to the present shame and final destruction of hundreds and thousands. And we gravely ask, with no common solicitude, Can God, who is just as well as good, hold that Church innocent which is found cherishing in her bosom so awful and universal an evil? We have seen this evil broadly and unequivocally denounced in the Scriptures, as an utter curse, and big with ruin to the best hopes of man. Nature and Providence unite their testimony, and award to it the same condemnation. Our Church has long borne a similar testimony, and this is especially true of the father and founder of Methodism.

He says, of ardent spirits *in general*, "First of all, sacredly abstain from all spirituous liquors; touch them not on any pretence whatever." On their *manufacture and sale* he remarks, "It is amazing that the preparation or selling of this poison should be permitted, I will not say in any Christian country, but in any civilized state!" He pronounces the *gain* of the trafficker in ardent spirits, "the price of blood," and adds, emphatically, "Let not any lover of virtue and truth say one word in favor of this monster. Let no lover of mankind open his mouth to extenuate the guilt of it. Oppose it as you would oppose the devil, whose offspring and likeness it is." Of *grocers* in this traffic he affirms, "They murder mankind by wholesale, and drive them to hell like sheep." He denounces both the manufacture and the sale of spirituous liquors, except for mechanical and medicinal purposes, as a gross immorality; declaring, "None can gain in this way by swallowing up his neighbor's substance, without gaining the damnation of hell!" And hence one of the original rules of the Methodist societies, as drawn up by John and Charles Wesley, precluded "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, *except* in cases of *extreme necessity*." And we cannot but fear that the alteration of this rule by the American Methodists, and the substitution of another

less unequivocal in its character, since 1790, have been attended with but little good to *any*, and perhaps with *direct injury* to thousands. And now that the engrossing question of total abstinence is arresting the attention of most of the evangelical Churches in the United States, and in many of them becoming a term of membership, we are fully convinced it would be criminal in us to remain silent, and not lend our aid and co-operation in purging the Churches and redeeming the nation from this insidious, yet alarming and desolating evil.

Finally, persuaded as we are that intemperance in all its aspects and gradations, is a physical evil, unmitigated by any mixture of good, and also a moral offence against the laws of God and the claims of Christian piety, unmodified by any indemnifying consideration whatever, we would at all times, but at this time especially, when such combined and powerful efforts are making to arrest the evil, cast in our dividend of social and moral aid, and do all in our power to accomplish an object as every way momentous as it is desirable. And we close by remarking, that we look upon all as implicated in the duty and the interest, and we shall cheerfully and promptly concur with all in an effort to expel the demon of intemperance, not only from our Churches, but from the nation, whose *welfare* and *fortunes* must always be viewed in intimate connection with its morals.

That an expression of sentiment on the part of the General Conference was asked for and expected, by the thousands whose memorials filled the table of that body at their late session, is a fact which was known not only to the Church at large, but to the active and zealous friends of the temperance cause, many of whom were looking with intense interest to the result of their deliberations. And the appearance of this valuable document, containing the most decided and unequivocal approval of all the objects which the friends of the cause within and without our Church could even hope for, has been hailed as a pledge of what is to be expected from the zeal and influence of such men, and an earnest of the triumphant success of the memorials now before the several annual conferences, praying an alteration of our general rule in conformity to the principles of this address, and in accordance with a sentiment and practice that is rapidly pervading the evangelical Churches in this country and in Europe. Such testimony as this address affords, coming from the highest legislative authority of our Church, embodying a large proportion of the learning, age, experience, and piety of our ministry, is alike honorable to the sacred office they occupy and to the Church over whose interests they preside. May we not anticipate that the Church will be prepared at the next quadrennial session of that body, to restore the original rule of Mr. Wesley to our book of discipline, should the constitutional recommendation of the annual conferences be obtained, and thus enable us to stand forth as a Church before Christendom and before the world, redeemed and disenthralled from all participation either by the traffic or use in this soul-destroying and hell-populating poison? Thus may we hope, in the language of the address, 'to expel the demon of intemperance not only from our Church, but from the nation, whose *welfare* and *fortunes* must always be viewed in intimate connection with its morals.'

R.

REVIEW OF THE CIVIL AFFAIRS OF THE WORLD

IN THEIR RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

THE history of the world presents to the eye of the philosophic and critical observer a thousand objects and events on which he may dwell with both pleasure and profit. The rise and fall of empires, states, and kingdoms, the alternate elevation and depression of distinguished individuals, form themes of speculation, of curious and deep interest to all who take delight in tracing the hand of Divine Providence, and observing its actions in the affairs of men; and he who studies this history without connecting in his view Him who 'worketh all things according to the counsel of his will,' must remain but half instructed in the lessons of wisdom which this sort of study is designed to impart. This world, indeed, without the presence of its Author and Upholder, as its august and adorable Ruler, presents but an incoherent mass of materials, the wild and confused uproar of elements, without any adequate hand to guide and control them. We may read the history of Bonaparte, and behold him with a mixture of wonder and admiration, careering among the nations of the earth, tossing about, at the mere command of his will, thrones and sceptres, and whirling, in the mighty sweep of his military prowess and civil despotism, the nations into the revolutionary vortex, as if they existed only to be sported with according to the dictates of human caprice; and yet see nothing at work in all these things but the stirrings of human passion, pride, or ambition, struggling for empire and dominion; but if we connect in our view, as we unquestionably should, the actings of an infinitely wise, powerful, and gracious Being, overruling all these mighty events for the accomplishment of His wise and benignant purposes, we rise in our contemplations from man to God, from earth to heaven, and behold the mists which were collected and are still collecting around the summit of truth, dissipated by the beams of light issuing from the throne of God. Who, indeed, that views the rapid and lofty elevation to which that wonderful man, the master spirit of his age, attained, and the grandeur which for a season surrounded his character, and then traces his downfall, so quick and precipitous, until it terminated in his confinement as the nations' prisoner on the contemptible rock of St. Helena, where he expired under the vexations produced by his merciless keeper, but must be struck with astonishment at beholding the wonderful events which were connected with his career through life, as well as the manner in which he disappeared from among men! While the faithful historian—though we fear none such has yet been found—may trace out the lines which marked the progress of his eventful life, and with the eye of philosophic inquiry, assign the causes which he supposes produced such astonishing effects, the devout Christian, equally well

instructed from the page of history and the school of philosophy, but taught also in the sublimer doctrines of Christianity; while he condemns those actions which offend against the laws of morality and religion, and exempts the God of the nations from having any active agency in the production of moral evil; will nevertheless find it his duty and privilege to acknowledge and adore His invisible hand, as being stretched out to overrule, check, and control all these things for the manifestation of His own glory, and the final good of those who love Him. This lesson he derives from revelation. And while it raises the Christian philosopher high on the mountain of truth, from whence he can survey the field of knowledge which lies stretched out at his feet, it furnishes him with a key to unlock the mysteries of nature and Providence, which are unknown and therefore unappreciated by those who reject this superior light.

It is from such a view of human affairs that we would now glance at the present aspect of things in the political, civil, and religious world.

In regard to some portions of the old world, we know but little of them, as it respects their civil and moral state, any farther than that they linger on, subjected to a despotism under which they have groaned for centuries, and from which they are not likely soon to be delivered. As if suffering under some chosen curse inflicted upon it for its sins, the guilt of which is augmented by a thousand repetitions, *Asia*, once the theatre of such mighty events, the birth place of man, of Abraham and Isaac, the patriarchs and prophets, and lastly of a greater than either, even the Prince of Peace, seems doomed still to linger out an existence of slavish subjection to its tyrannical masters—a slavery no less degrading to human beings, than it is blasting to intellectual and moral improvement. Nor is the religion of those kingdoms included in that part of the globe any the less blighting to the human character, than it is derogatory to the honor of the true God. And if here and there a solitary missionary is permitted to wander upon their shores, with a Bible in the one hand and a tract in the other, it is but to witness with pain and disgust the mass of corruption and superstition which had been accumulating for ages, and which still hangs in such dense folds around the human mind as completely to shut out almost every ray of Gospel light. The few exceptions to this general state of things only betray the utter recklessness of paganism and Mohammedanism in resisting the efforts of the Christian missionary to introduce a better system, and indeed the only system of religion which can materially benefit mankind.

Africa still groans under a bondage peculiar to those who are subjected to the rites of paganism or the delusions of Mohammedanism—rendered still more oppressive by the hand of a political tyranny, not indeed concentrated in a single dynasty, but divided among a number

of petty kings, who make war upon each other on the most frivolous pretexts, and in many instances with the accursed purpose of reducing to a slavery of the most execrable sort all that may be obtained by conquest. How sickening to the heart of the Christian philanthropist, to cast his eye over this land, many parts of which were once renowned for their wise statesmen, philosophers, and poets, for their bold and intrepid warriors, their Christian bishops and devoted martyrs, and now to behold it enveloped in moral darkness, subjected to all the evils of a semi-barbarism, and oppressed by a civil and religious despotism as odious as it is irksome and degrading.

But even in this 'shadow of death' here and there a glimmering light is seen flitting across the path of a few missionaries who have been sent to explore this land of darkness and desolation. And though it is but just enough to render the surrounding darkness the more visible, it affords a gleam of hope that the time is not far distant when not only *Ethiopia*, which forms so small a part of this vast continent, but the whole of *Africa shall stretch forth her hands to God*, and in this imploring posture shall *seek and find Jesus and Him crucified*. Then shall the sons of Ham be included among those who shall bow and kiss the Son of God as the Saviour of the world.

What shall we say for Europe? Shaken as it had been for a series of years, by 'wars and rumors of wars,' until many of its thrones were prostrated and its kingdoms convulsed, it still lives a monument of Divine forbearance, and in some of its kingdoms may be seen examples of Christian enterprise and benevolence worthy of all praise, as well as of the imitation of all virtuous minds. But has the revolutionary fire ceased to burn? Or shall it continue its ravages until a new heaven and new earth spring into being? Whatever may be the final issue of the present struggles between the people and their rulers, we cannot but hope, from what we have already witnessed in that interesting quarter of the globe, that all these things will be overruled by Him by 'whom kings reign and princes decree justice,' for the ultimate good of His Church, as well as of mankind generally. When the fire which has been so long raging shall have spent its fury on the combustible materials on which it has been preying, He who can quench it by the streams of His mercy, will bring the discordant materials together, form them into an edifice which shall hereafter resist the fury of the elements, and afford a safe and secure shelter for the wandering sons of men. There are, indeed, too many righteous ones here to admit of a doubt that God will spare the cities and kingdoms of Europe for their sakes. There is too much pure gold to permit the flames to do more than to refine away its dross. In a word, the spirit of ardent and liberal piety which actuates the hearts of so many of the distinguished sons of Europe, which breathes its purifying flame in their

pulpits, their desks, their writings, their numerous institutions of charity, as well as in their halls of legislation, forms a most active and redeeming quality in the mighty mass which composes the kingdoms and empires of Europe ; and which must, we think, operate as a purifier of silver, and finally be a means of saving the nations from the moral putrefaction to which all old kingdoms tend, and yet present them in a more healthful and vigorous state than ever they were heretofore. This anticipation is founded upon no chimera of the imagination, but upon the actual state of things, at least in some of the kingdoms of Europe, in regard to civil, literary, and spiritual improvements. And if we should be deceived at last, though the deception would be painful indeed, the present indulgence of a hope which unveils such a cheering prospect, affords no small satisfaction—a satisfaction of which we do not wish to deprive ourselves by anticipating a contrary result.

‘Europe is given a prey to sterner fates,
And writhes in shackles ; strong the arms that chain
To earth her struggling multitude of states ;
She too is strong, and might not chafe in vain
Against them, but shake off the vampire train,
That batten on her blood, and break their net ;
Yes, she shall look on brighter days, and gain
The meed of worthier deeds ; the moment set
To rescue and raise up, draws near,—but is not yet.’

What can be said of *America*, the land of our birth, the home of freedom, civil and religious ? Would that we could say in truth that our improvements in knowledge, in morals and religion, are in proportion to our privileges. Here is an asylum for the oppressed, a refuge for the emigrant from the older continents, where the constitution of the United States, and the constitutions of the several states, secure to the citizen all the rights and immunities of freemen, without interfering with or at all infringing upon his religious privileges. If ever a nation under heaven were highly exalted in respect to both civil and religious means of improvement, it is the American nation. No odious taxation to burden the citizen ; no haughty and tyrannical priesthood is legalized to bind the consciences of the people and rob them of their property, and reduce them as unwilling vassals to its despotic sway ; no civil despotism to trample upon the liberties of the citizens, and deprive them of their unalienable rights ; no dual-headed monster, combining in his person the sacred rights of the Church and the civil rights of the state, and thus wielding the temporal and spiritual sword for the double purpose of dictating to the Christian what is his duty to his God, and to the citizen what he must render to Cesar ; these things, so odious in the features of most of the governments of the older continents, have no existence in our own happy land—and may they be for ever debarred an entrance here.

If, therefore, we are oppressed, it must be our own fault. If we are not protected in the enjoyment of our rights and privileges, it must be from malversation in our rulers, and not in the constitution and laws which bind us together, and guaranty to all alike their civil and religious privileges. If we are irreligious or wicked, it must be because we voluntarily transgress the laws of our God, abuse the privileges of the Gospel, and pervert our powers as rational and accountable beings. And should we or our posterity be deprived of the privileges we now enjoy, it will be because the anger of Jehovah shall become enkindled against us for our sins, for the abuse of our mercies, and not because He is either unjust or unkind, or delights in withholding good things from His creatures.

‘But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,
But with thy children, thy maternal care,
Thy lavish love, thy blessings shower’d on all,—
These are thy fetters,—seas and stormy air
Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where
Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well,
Thou laugh’st at enemies; who shall then declare
The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell
How happy, in thy lap, the sons of men shall dwell?’

If indeed the prevalence of pure religion soften and subdue the hearts of the people to the *obedience of Christ*, and make the laws of justice and mercy of paramount authority among all classes of our countrymen, we may then say that our ‘deep-founded strength’ shall never become weakness, and of our country, ‘Thou shalt never fall.’

But though in many places wickedness abounds, and the love of some may wax cold, we have abundant reason for thankfulness to the Author of all our mercies for the manifest tokens of His loving kindness. Though it be the almost unavoidable consequence of the character of our government, that party is arrayed against party, and one Christian sect against another, yet hitherto we have been preserved from being torn asunder by political factions, or entirely alienated from each other as Christians. In addition to these things, for some years past God has in a most merciful manner visited our Churches with the outpourings of His Spirit, with extensive revivals of His blessed work; and the hand of Christian charity is extended to our Indian neighbors, many of whom are bowing their necks to the yoke of Christ.

These things, together with the exertions which are making in this and other nations to evangelize the world by means of Bible, missionary, Sunday school, and tract societies, give us reason to hope, that however furious the storms may rage in the political horizon, the Sun of righteousness will yet shine on all lands and illuminate all hearts. The signs of the times indeed indicate that our Immanuel is even now riding forth, ‘with his sword girt upon his thigh,’ to conquer the na-

tions, to subdue the kingdoms to himself, and finally to 'make all things new.' But ere this desirable event shall arrive, a great work must be done. Three fifths of the world are yet in the hands of the 'false prophet,' and of the gods of paganism; and what proportion of the remaining two fifths is infidel or semi-infidel, baffles human calculation, because we are forbidden to scan the human heart. It is, however, encouraging to believe and know that the number of true, hearty believers in Christ, is increasing—that the number of evangelical ministers is also increasing—that more zeal, love, and faith, are exemplified among both ministers and people—and that consequently the exertions which are made for the conversion of sinners are becoming more and more successful.

From this slight survey of the present state of the world, we may encourage ourselves in the anticipation of a yet more speedy and extensive spread of pure and undefiled religion among the nations. The rippings in the political ocean which have succeeded to the storms and tempests with which it was so violently agitated during the period of the late destructive wars, are, we humbly hope, but the precursors of a smoother sea, on which the Church may be wafted along by the breath of Christian benevolence toward the desired haven of a safer and more permanent repose. The mind of the public is sinking down into that calm and deliberate state which is favorable for sober and accurate investigation; and the principles of civil and religious freedom are becoming better understood, while religion itself, stripped of the meretricious robes with which its glories had been hid from human view, is no longer viewed by the thinking portion of community as an enemy, but as a friend to human improvement and happiness; and though sectarian jealousies and rivalships still exist, and operate, so far as they spring from pride and unholy ambition, as a check to the progress of truth and righteousness, yet a brighter era seems dawning upon the Church and upon the world; and we hope that the day is not far distant when the only inquiry shall be, *What shall we do by which the most good may be accomplished?*

Allowing the accuracy of these remarks, who does not perceive that the present state of the world—even the political world—is highly favorable to the progress of Christianity—that even the revolutions of states, kingdoms, and empires, by which so many portions of the world have been convulsed, involving so much of national and individual suffering, have been so overruled and managed by the hand of that God 'whose mercies are over all His works,' as to make them subserve the purposes of His love to men, and on the whole promotive of their highest interests?

But the mighty workings of His Spirit are yet more visible in the projects of benevolent enterprises by which the Church is at present

distinguished. While 'Satan and his angels' were at work to flood the world with desolation and wo, the Lord Jesus, from the throne of His excellent glory, beheld His struggling Church with pity. To relieve it from its bondage, and finally to emancipate the world from its thralldom, He inspired His servants with an uncommon degree of wisdom to devise plans for the melioration of human society, with zeal to execute them, and with faith to trust in Him for their success.

They have not been disappointed. Bible, missionary, Sunday school, and tract societies, are like so many angels of mercy, 'flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth.' Their voices are heard in the four quarters of the globe. And though but few, comparatively speaking, have yet heard 'the joyful sound,' 'many are running to and fro, and knowledge is increasing'—and increasing with a rapidity hitherto unknown. Has not the time therefore nearly arrived when God 'shall shake all nations,' and when 'the Desire of all nations shall come,' and reign universal King in the earth?

If these fond anticipations shall not be realized, the responsibility of the failure will rest on the Church. God's goodness is clearly manifest—the rainbow of His promise is seen half circling the heavens in the far east, and while the cloud of His mercy is hanging over all the west, the north and the south are becoming illuminated by the rays of the Sun of righteousness. Let us but 'work while it is day,' and we shall assuredly possess the land in peace.

OUR DUTY TOWARD THE AGED.

'I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread,' Psa. xxxvii, 25.

THERE is a parallel text in the seventy-first psalm, 'Cast me not off in my OLD AGE; forsake me not when my strength faileth.' Both psalms were penned by David; and in writing under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, the psalmist had one object in view, a tender regard for the aged; and we may add the watchful care of God over them.

The language is consoling, 'Fret not thyself because of evil doers.' Rise above the fleeting, momentary afflictions of this present life. 'Trust in the Lord,' 'and thou shalt be fed:' 'Delight thyself in the Lord, and He shall give thee the desires of thy heart:' 'Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass:' 'Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for Him.' Whether in a storm or tempest, hold fast thine integrity; cast not away thy confidence, which hath great recompense of reward; as if a person's life was compared to a tempestuous or stormy voyage. Confide in thy *Guide*, thy *Pilot*, thy *Captain*. He will steer the vessel and conduct thee safe into port!

In the seventy-first psalm there is exultation, as if the suffering

saint had endured the conflict, passed the fiery trial, had obtained the promise, and realized the blessing, even in *old age*. Verses 17, 18, 'O God, Thou hast taught me from my youth ; and hitherto have I declared Thy wondrous works : ' ' Now also when I am old and gray headed, O God, forsake me not until I have showed Thy strength unto this generation, and Thy power to every one that is to come : ' verses 19, 22, 23, ' Thy righteousness also, O God, is very high, who hast done great things ; O God, who is like unto Thee ! ' ' I will also praise Thee with the Psaltery, even Thy truth, O my God ; O thou Holy One of Israel : ' ' My lips shall greatly rejoice when I sing unto Thee, and my soul which Thou hast redeemed. ' This exaltation seems to proceed from the answer to the prayer, verse 9, ' Cast me not off in the time of old age ; forsake me not when my strength faileth. ' The thirty-seventh psalm is very appropriately preceded by the thirty-sixth, which sets forth the grievous state of the wicked, and the excellency of God's mercy : ' I have been young, and now am old, ' &c.

The following suggestions are well worthy our very serious consideration :—

1. That God in His word, on all occasions, has manifested a very tender regard for His aged servants.

2. That the aged, in the pristine state of the Church, were the strong hold of the believers, and the way marks to life and glory ; holding fast their integrity and steadfastness in the faith even down to old age, they became living witnesses and practical epistles of Divine truth.

3. Although we have now the surer word of *prophecy* or *revelation*, and the experience of thousands of saints before us, yet we are bound by Christian obligations to regard the aged with tenderness, and with the deepest veneration and respect.

1. God honored the aged ; His delight has ever been with the faithful in the decline of life. Abraham was faithful and obtained a promise in his old age, and became the father of the *righteous*. 2. This promise was confirmed to his son Isaac in his old age. 3. It was realized by Jacob, the father of Israel, after *trying his faith* ; and blessings were showered down upon him in his old age. Isaiah applies the promises to Jacob's posterity, who loved God, ' But thou Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. Fear not ; for I am with thee : be not dismayed ; for I am thy God : I will strengthen thee ; yea, I will help thee ; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee ; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee : when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned ; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. ' The same consolation which was manifested to the *patriarchs* was extended to Elijah, Elisha, Samuel, and David, and to all the aged saints of God down to good old Simeon ; who, having lived to see the fulfilment of all the predictions of the prophets as to the appearance of the Redeemer on earth, ' took him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word ; for mine eyes have seen thy *SALVATION*, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people ; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. '

God manifests a tender regard for the aged. This is manifest, in granting them grace according to the season of affliction : when the members of the body begin to fail, when the senses begin to be locked up by the infirmities of age, when the powers of the mind begin to fail, He pours out upon them at such a season the consolations of His Holy Spirit. The long Scriptural account of the triumphs of such through life and in death we need not now repeat. We need not present an aged John whispering to his little flock, 'Little children, love one another!' We may come down to our own days and period of life, and tell of some who have lived until they had forgotten the names of their own children, the names and persons of their own sons and daughters, yet when spoken to respecting the tender mercy of God, with a countenance beaming with delight, a recollection never lost, they have raised their hands and clapped them in holy ecstasy, and shouted the Redeemer's praise! Here then are the triumphs of a *living faith*! It extends to all circumstances and afflictions of life; God gives grace to meet death, to conquer, to triumph, and to shout 'victory' in and through the name of the Holy One of Israel!

2. The aged, in the pristine state of the Church, were the strong hold of the believers, &c.

It has been a language often repeated by aged saints, 'Why does God let me live? Why do I yet suffer? I have outlived my generation; there are but few of my friends now alive; I am old and forsaken, and almost forgotten; I do not desire life; I stand like a useless tenement, beaten almost to pieces by the storms of life; I desire to lay my wearied and trembling limbs low in the grave. Having been long looking out for the coming of the chariot of my Master to convey me to my desired home, I am ready to say, O why does He delay His coming?' I have seen the aged servants of God lift up their languid eye and look toward the hills of Zion, and seem to have a longing desire to be loosed from their prison of clay. To one thus anxious to depart, I freely expressed my opinion. I told this old saint that it was probable that God protracted many lives of His aged servants to try the patience and Christian virtues of the rising generation—the duty toward the aged was well understood—that the performance of this duty from children was expected by the Lord even under a darker dispensation!—that on the other hand they stood as in times of old, in place of the old patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, as *guides*, as way marks, to direct the rising generation the way to heaven. Then said she, 'The Lord's time is my time!' and this some years afterward was her dying expression. Let this be the language of the *aged*!

I have often thought that it might be made to appear, that the aged servants of God were like the mounds or monuments, or heaps of stones thrown together to direct the way through a *desert* or unsettled country. Such monuments were used in the hilly country of old in Judea. By such means the traveller is led on from *point* to *point*; and though it may be said it is often a *rough road*, yet it leads up to JERUSALEM! Though often difficult, by those way marks we may be making our direct approaches to a delightful city. Old veterans of the cross! stand to your posts a few fleeting years, and combat a few more difficulties; stand fast until a few more beating storms shall pass over,

and as living witnesses you may be the means of saving souls, and of adding many stars to your crown in glory. I never cast my eye on an aged minister of the Gospel without the strongest sensations. During the last year, I witnessed what I had not done for many years, namely, the state of one of these men of God, and when about to depart, offered the last prayer before he bid the world adieu. How thankful I felt that God had given me grace to treat him as an aged father in the Gospel! God himself has pronounced old age, if found in the way of righteousness, to be honorable, and has commanded us to reverence the aged!

3. We are bound by Christian obligations to regard the aged with tenderness and with the deepest veneration and respect.

It is probable that my own peculiar situation in youth has impressed this subject on my mind with more force, than it would have otherwise been; had it not have fallen to my lot to be as a speckled bird in my early day. And that was in relation to the old professors of religion. When I became a member of the Church, at the age of about twenty-one, I have no distinct recollection of but one youth, about my age, who was then taken in as a member of the Church north-west of the river Ohio! and the *young man* who forms this exception is now a preacher, and my mind was waked up to this subject by an unexpected call to *see me this day!* Then in the bloom of youth, old fathers and mothers in Israel were my companions at the house of prayer; and ah! solemn thought! they have nearly all gone, having entered *through the gates* into that holy and happy city. From this early association with the *aged*, I have experienced the most lasting benefits.

We live in an evil day; and although it is a season for mental improvement, and a period of a great and glorious enlargement of Christian experience, yet there is much danger of losing sight of our proper way mark. If there is much light spread abroad, there is much ignorance, and many false systems are propagated through the world. There is a strong propensity manifested by the present generation to inquire what our forefathers have been doing? And in an attempt to separate truth from error, the good from the evil, we are too often disposed to listen to the counsel of our own desires, and for the want of a practical experience and a thorough knowledge of mankind and of the depravity of our own hearts, we are too apt to set at nought and wholly to disregard the experience and admonition of the old servants of God.

If we have more *light* and knowledge than they possessed in their day, it is because they were the giants, and we the dwarfs on their shoulders; and a dwarf, by being placed on a *giant's* shoulders, can see farther than the giant himself.

But let us turn our attention to our duty toward the aged. There is something in regard to the aged servants of God which excites our attention and awakens our sympathies. It is like looking on one from another stage of being! It is like conversing with the preceding generation! There stands an aged disciple of Jesus before me, which causes me to reflect on ages past. Do I desire to speak of events beyond the flood? Then *speak and learn* of NOAH! Do I wish to learn *meekness* and *perseverance*? Then speak to MOSES, he was forty years with the children of Israel in the wilderness! Do I desire to

learn patience? Then turn about and converse with Job! Hear his doleful tale—stripped of every thing but his confidence in God, and though condemned by friends and enemies, he holds to his integrity; and God calls him *four times* ‘*my servant Job!*’ Do I wish to learn lessons of submission, in waiting patiently for God’s time? Then ask good old Simeon if he was wearied in *well doing!* Ask him if there was not more real joy and gladness in his heart when he took ‘Jesus in his arms,’ than amply compensated him for all his sorrows and afflictions in waiting so long! If we wish to learn lessons of Christian humility, look to Jesus in the garden, and hear Him say, ‘Father, not my will, but thine be done!’ Hear John in the decline of life preaching to his little flock, ‘Little children, love one another!’ If you wish to learn lessons of experience, and how God wrought with generations now past and gone, go to that aged father and mother in Israel. Their hoary heads, their furrowed cheeks, their trembling limbs and faltering voice, mark them out as sufficiently ancient to speak of those things. They will tell you that in their day it was a hard struggle—that it was a great conflict—that it was through much tribulation, after much prayer and the shedding of many tears, before they found the pearl of great price; and nothing short of *abiding grace*, and daily *bread*, could have sustained them! But O! the duty to aged parents; my pen trembles; my parents are now in glory. I often reflect on my own neglect of duties, and almost envy the sister that bore the larger share of duty in smoothing their sorrows and afflictions in life. I shall never forget the expressions of Rev. A. W. E. in 1827. Having led to the house of worship an aged father (near one hundred years old) and a servant of the most high God, and conducted him to his seat in the congregation—my two sisters bearing forward the pious old mother in like manner, it appeared as if the two had been brought forward from beyond the flood. The preacher in closing his discourse looked around him, and in a flood of tears remarked, ‘Had I an aged father and mother alive, I would take them to my bosom; I would wipe away every trickling tear from their furrowed cheeks; I would cheer them as to the prospect of another and a better world. Yes, I would take them in my arms and carry them to the house of prayer; I would bow down at their feet in the morning and in the evening, and ask God to bear them as lambs in his own bosom through the dark and gloomy valley of the shadow of death!’ No one can conceive, but those who were there, and heard and felt the force of the expression, the powerful impression this made. May the Lord so remember all his old servants in the decline of life.

THEOPHILUS ARMINIUS.

EDUCATION.

COMPARATIVE STATE OF INSTRUCTION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

IN the July number of the *Annals of Education and Instruction*, there are some interesting observations upon the condition of the literary institutions of this country, compared with those of Europe. The

article was communicated to the American Lyceum by Mr. Woodbridge, the editor of the *Annals*. The opportunities for the profound study of every branch of science and literature in Europe, are greatly superior to those in our own country. The princes of many of the smaller states of Europe, whose power or talents do not permit them to become conspicuous by their conquests or political influence, find a wide field for distinguishing themselves, by becoming the patrons of the arts and literature. How striking and painful the contrast is in our own country, need not here be mentioned. 'An unhappy jealousy,' remarks Mr. Woodbridge, 'exists against the attempt to elevate the standard of science and literature, lest they should be made the instruments of establishing a literary aristocracy. It is forgotten, that even in despotic governments, *the nation of literary men* has ever remained *a republic*.' Another encouragement to the profound studies to which the scholars of Europe devote themselves, arises from the fact, that in many countries it is the *surest*, if not the *only* road to distinction.—'The offices of state are assigned by inheritance or patronage; in such a manner that most of the community are for ever excluded from the hope of becoming statesmen.' 'But in the United States, the road to distinction and wealth is through an active or political life. Every citizen is called upon to take a part in the political, social, and religious concerns of the community, and every one, who possesses high intellectual power, is called upon to an extent, which absorbs all the time and strength which is not demanded by the labors necessary for subsistence.' At the close of the preliminary observations, of which we have given a slight sketch, Mr. Woodbridge presents the following tabular statement of the number of students in the universities and colleges of the respective states of this country, and of the principal nations of Europe. The materials for the former, were derived from the *American Quarterly Register*, and for the latter, from the *Weimar Statistical Almanac* for 1831—a work of high authority.

It is a matter of regret, that our government do not embrace in the decennial enumeration of the inhabitants, statements respecting the common schools, and the number of pupils, academies, high schools, colleges, and professional schools. In this way, a literary census of great value might be taken, with very little trouble or expense. From period to period it would furnish a most satisfactory exposition of the state and progress of literature and education, and materials for comparison between the several divisions of the country, and between this country and Europe.—*Am. Quarterly Register*.

Comparison of the number of students in the United States with that of the countries of Europe.

The number of *academical* students in the United States is here estimated at 3,475; theological students, 663; legal, 88; medical, not far from 2,000. They belong to the several states as here apportioned. For want of data, however, the medical and legal students were divided among the various states according to their population.

AMERICAN STATES.			EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.		
	No. Stud.	Prop. to Inhab.		No. of Studs.	Prop. to Inhab.
Massachusetts.....	770	1 792	Scotland.....	3,249	1 683
Connecticut.....	327	1 960	Baden.....	1,399	1 816
New-Hampshire.....	241	1 1,118	Saxony.....	1,360	1 1,040
			England.....	10,549	1 1,132
			Hanover.....	1,203	1 1,303
			Bavaria.....	2,593	1 1,312
			Tuscany.....	909	1 1,402
			Spain.....	9,867	1 1,414
			Prussia.....	6,236	1 1,470
Vermont.....	186	1 1,509			
Maine.....	238	1 1,611			
New-Jersey.....	193	1 1,661			
South-Carolina.....	325	1 1,739	Wurtemberg.....	887	1 1,731
			Sweden & Norway.....	2,687	1 1,732
			Portugal.....	1,604	1 1,879
Pennsylvania.....	688	1 1,928			
New-York.....	986	1 1,940			
Rhode Island.....	50	1 1,944			
Maryland.....	175	1 2,554	Netherlands.....	2,998	1 1,979
Virginia.....	457	1 2,650	Sardinia.....	1,722	1 2,420
Kentucky.....	249	1 2,766			
Georgia.....	173	1 2,985	Switzerland.....	767	1 2,655
Mississippi.....	45	1 3,040			
North Carolina.....	233	1 3,170			
Tennessee.....	211	1 3,245			
Ohio.....	285	1 3,290			
Louisiana.....	46	1 3,335			
Delaware.....	23	1 3,336			
Alabama.....	84	1 3,634	Denmark.....	578	1 3,342
			Naples and Sicily..	2,065	1 3,590
Missouri.....	28	1 5,003	Austria.....	8,584	1 3,786
Indiana.....	65	1 5,101			
Illinois.....	28	1 5,624	France.....	6,196	1 5,140
			Ireland.....	1,254	1 5,767
			Russia.....	3,626	1 15,455

SECTIONS OF THE U. S.			EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.		
Eastern States.....	1748	1 1,118	England.....	10,549	1 1,132
Middle States.....	1995	1 1,844	Portugal.....	1,604	1 1,8 9
Southern States.....	1485	1 2,612	Switzerland.....	767	1 2,655
Western States.....	957	1 3,516	Naples and Sicily..	2,065	1 2,285
United States.....	6195	1 2,078	Western Europe...	69,634	1 3,500

In reviewing this table, we shall perceive, that in accordance with an opinion often expressed, Scotland gives more of her youth a collegiate education than any other country in the world. Baden, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, fall little short of this standard; and these are the only countries in the world, according to these estimates, which have one collegiate pupil for less than 1,000 inhabitants. New-Hampshire, according to the calculation of the American Quarterly Register, is the only American state beside, in which there is more than one for 1,500; while in Europe, Saxony, England, Hanover, Bavaria, Tuscany, Spain, and Prussia, all have a proportion greater

than this. It must not be forgotten, however, that the universities and colleges of Spain furnish nothing which deserves to be called a truly liberal education. Vermont, Maine, New-Jersey, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New-York, and Rhode Island, composing all the eastern, and three of the middle states, and one of the southern, have one student for less than 2,000 inhabitants, in which they are rivalled by Wurtemberg, Sweden, Portugal, and the Netherlands. Most of the southern and western states have from 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants to a student. In this proportion, the highest compare with Switzerland, and the rest with Denmark, Naples, and Austria. The most recent western states have only one to every 5,000 inhabitants; and still are placed on a level with France and Ireland. Russia stands alone among the civilized countries of the world, and only gives a liberal education to one person in 15,000 of her population.

As a mass, it would appear that the eastern states provide the advantages of a collegiate education, such as they are in the United States, for a greater proportion of their population than England, or any European countries except Scotland, Baden, and Saxony. The middle states are as well provided as Wurtemberg, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The southern states will compare with Switzerland in this respect; and the western states, with all their destitution, are as well supplied with liberally educated men, so far as *numbers* are concerned, as Denmark and Austria.

The comparative state of common school instruction is very different from that of collegiate instruction. In this, the United States have the pre-eminence, whether we compare them with the mass of European countries or select individual examples. The Edinburgh Review admitted many years since, that 'the great body of the American people is better educated (instructed) than the mass of *any European community*.' The following table, derived from the best sources, shows the proportion of children who receive common school instruction to the whole population, in several European countries, and in several of the United States, and furnishes statistical evidence of the truth of this remark:—

Proportion of pupils in common schools to the whole population.

European Countries.....	Pupil. Inhab.	United States.	Pupil. Inhab.
Wurtemberg.....	1 to 6	New-York.....	1 to 3.9
Canton Vaud, Switz.....	1 to 6.6		
Bavaria.....	1 to 7	Massachusetts, }	
Prussia.....	1 to 7	Maine, Connecticut, }	1 to 4
Netherlands.....	1 to 9.7	estimated }	
Scotland.....	1 to 10		
Austria.....	1 to 13	All New-England at }	1 to 5
England.....	1 to 15.3	least }	
France.....	1 to 17.6		
Ireland.....	1 to 18	Pennsylvania, New-Jersey.....	1 to 8
Portugal.....	1 to 88	Illinois.....	1 to 13
Russia.....	1 to 367	Kentucky.....	1 to 21

It will be seen, in examining this table, that the proportion of children, receiving common school instruction in New-York and the eastern states, is greater than in any country of the civilized world. So unusual is the proportion in New-York, that Schwartz, the distinguished German historian of education, could scarcely believe it correct. In

Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, whose destitution is the subject of so much well founded regret and anxiety, the mass are still better taught than in most countries of Europe, better than in Scotland itself; and even the western states will soon have as much of common instruction as France. Still we should feel, that the neglect, which may be for the time safe in a despotism, is ruinous in a republic; for it undermines the basis of free institutions.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Thoughts on African Colonization: or an impartial exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the 'American Colonization Society';—together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the free people of color. BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON. Boston, 1832, pp. 236.

WHILE we have ever felt and expressed our horror and repugnance at the enormities of the slave trade, and deplored the evils entailed upon our beloved country by the extent, increase, and mischiefs, of the slave population; we have uniformly given our unqualified support to every effort of philanthropy and Christianity to arrest the former, or to mitigate or remove the evils of the latter. Accordingly we have frequently sustained, by our feeble means, every humane and judicious project aiming at the abolition of the slave trade and of mitigating the evils of slavery itself, in this and in every country; and devoutly wished success to every well directed effort to accomplish these objects. To this course we have been impelled by a sense of civil and religious duty; and no considerations, we humbly trust, shall ever seduce us from a consistent and unwavering avowal of our testimony against the whole system of slavery in the abstract, and particularly of the slave trade, as impolitic, unchristian, and unjust.

But at the same time we hope ever to be found at an infinite remove from the spirit and temper of those wild enthusiasts, whose visionary and inflammatory speeches, harangues, printed pamphlets, and tracts, have, by a mistaken policy and misguided zeal, been employed in our country by wily politicians and factious demagogues, for the purpose of raising a popular clamor against that portion of our fellow citizens who are alike sensible of the evil and its present perpetuation, entailed upon them by the act of others, in which they could have no agency, and for which they are in no wise directly criminated, either legally or morally. And we deprecate such policy and conduct, not so much because the motives and character of such factious zealots are so often obviously equivocal; but because such publications have ever produced evils little short of those they condemned, and must necessarily add to the sufferings, both physical and moral, under which our 'Afric-Americans' are groaning in many portions of our land. While the exasperations and heart burnings thus occasioned between the different sections of our country, in relation to each other, are so fatal to the concord, harmony, and union among our citizens, which should be preserved inviolable in order to the ultimate success of any emancipa-

tion or abolition effort, our motto, and that of every friend of the African race, should ever be, 'Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.'

It was by reason of such views and feelings, that we hailed the 'American Colonization Society' as the friend of the country, the friend of Africa, and the friend of our whole colored population, whether free or slaves. An intimate acquaintance with its origin, its organization, its constitution, its early history, and the deservedly distinguished citizens, in point of intellectual and moral worth, who became its patrons and friends, protected us from any of those fears by which different political and sectarian partizans seemed at first to be agitated. And we have never lost our confidence that as the plans and operations of the society were developed, the real friends of the country would unite in its full support, impelled thereto, alike by patriotism and Christianity. And our own close observation of the effect upon the public mind, produced by every year of its history, convinces us, that our confidence has not been misplaced, and the real friends of the country, in the south as well as the north, and the true friends of our colored population, are now rallying around the standard of the American Colonization Society, as presenting a scheme infinitely superior to the evanescent declamations of political fanatics, because supported on the immovable basis of liberty, humanity, and religion.

We have thus introduced our brief notice of the pamphlet before us, that our motives may not be misrepresented, and that we may not be suspected of being the advocates or apologists of the slave trade, nor the enemies of African freedom. And yet we fearlessly proclaim ourselves the advocates of the American Colonization Society, notwithstanding the censorious, vulgar, and abusive epithets, employed by Mr. Garrison, in this bitter tirade against many of the noblest and most benevolent men in the land, and against an institution which has been justly styled 'a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.' And indeed we confess we have never perused a publication with such unmingled sensations of indignation and disgust; scarcely modified indeed by that pity and commiseration, ordinarily felt for those whom ignorance, sophistry, and prejudice, have so miserably duped. Such a compound of egotism, vulgarity, cant, bordering even on profanity, we have seldom seen, disfiguring so much clean white paper, and deforming the regular proportions of a volume so well printed and gotten up in its mechanical execution. 'Tis true, a pity; and pity 'tis, 'tis true.'

Of the author we confess we know but little, and with him we have little to do, since the book, and not Mr. Garrison, is the subject of our review; and yet he *himself* makes so prominent a part of his book, that it would be unpardonable to withhold him a passing tribute. The first paragraph in his book almost petrifies the reader; we will therefore insert it, after this admonition, which is kindly given, and, as will be perceived, is called for.

'In attacking the system of slavery, I clearly foresaw all that has happened to ME. I knew at the commencement, that MY motives would be impeached, MY warnings ridiculed, MY person persecuted, MY sanity doubted, MY life jeopardized:—but the clank of the prisoner's

chains broke upon MY ear—it entered deeply into MY soul—I looked up to heaven for strength to sustain ME in the perilous work of emancipation—and MY resolution was taken.’

To parse this sentence syntactically, it will be perceived that little else is necessary than to understand the first person singular, and to repeat the rule thirteen times over in seven lines, and a similar peculiarity, to a greater or less extent, will be found to characterize almost every original paragraph in the book. And it will be seen that not merely the verbiage, but the sentiment, is thus egotistic throughout.

The sentence thus quoted, which introduces the whole, may be translated thus:—The author publishes a newspaper which is circulated extensively among our colored population, called the *Liberator*; and in delivering his testimony against slavery and the slave trade, he happened to violate the laws of the state and of the country, either in his paper, or some other kindred publication, and subjected himself to imprisonment therefor; whether justly or unjustly, the American Colonization Society has no more to do with it than the Anti-Slavery Society of Mr. Garrison’s own projecting. It is therefore difficult to discover what this touching narrative has to do with ‘Thoughts on African Colonization.’ But as we progress in the ‘thoughts’ we shall be struck with their monotonous and synonomous character, thus, ‘I! have counted the cost.’ ‘I! shall deal with the society.’ ‘MY! warfare is against the American Colonization Society.’ ‘I! formerly approved of it, but MY! approval was the offspring of ignorance and credulity.’ ‘So much for MY! marvellous apostasy.’ But we forbear, after selecting these from among fifty others in the first two or three pages of this marvellously important personage, from whose claims, distinction, worth, and persecutions, the readers of his book must be all the while inseparable, for the personal pronoun I is used no less than sixty times in the first five pages of the book, beside me, my, mine, &c, too frequently to be worth estimating, and so for the most part throughout the book.

The dedication is to ‘my countrymen, in whose *intelligence, magnanimity, and humanity*, I place the utmost reliance,’ and after this smooth compliment the author adds, ‘They have long suffered themselves to be *swayed by a prejudice as unmanly as it is wicked*,’ notwithstanding the ‘utmost reliance’ was just placed in their *intelligence, magnanimity, and humanity!* Who his countrymen are, possessing these varied attributes, this description does not enable us to say. We presume, therefore, that the dedication is to the personage, whose prominence in the book has been already adverted to, and who himself compares to Wilberforce, Pitt, Fox, Clarkson, Paul, and even to Jesus Christ, and declares that in this ‘momentous investigation’ he has sought that ‘knowledge which cannot err.’ Such arrogance and profanity must shock every reader of the book, whether white or colored.

In the introductory remarks, which occupy thirty-eight pages of this meagre book, the author commences his attack upon the American Colonization Society, by declaring that ‘the superstructure of the society rests upon the following pillars:—1. *Persecution*. 2. *Falsehood*. 3. *Cowardice*. 4. *Infidelity*; and in allusion to the present pamphlet he says, ‘If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature,

without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless and unjust, then let me be covered with confusion of face.' And again, after calling the society a CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS, who are *unanimous* in abusing their victims, *unanimous* in proclaiming *absurdities*, propagating *libels*, exciting *prejudice*, *apologizing* for *slavery*, using *hollow pretences*, and after declaring that it is based upon *falsehood and duplicity*, and is at once *dangerous* and *implacable*, he adds, 'These are my accusations, and if I do not substantiate them I am willing to be covered with reproach.'

To prove these heinous charges of *unanimity* among the 'clergy, Christian professors, judges, lawyers, senators, representatives, and editors,' in a conspiracy so glaring, absurd, and wicked, against all that is sacred in humanity and religion, he then divides his subject into ten sections, entitled as follows:—

1. The American Colonization Society is *not hostile* to slavery.
2. The A. C. S. *apologizes* for slavery and slave holders.
3. The A. C. S. *recognizes* slaves as property.
4. The A. C. S. *increases* the value of slaves.
5. The A. C. S. is the *enemy* of immediate abolition.
6. The A. C. S. is nourished by *fear and selfishness*.
7. The A. C. S. aims at the *utter expulsion* of the blacks.
8. The A. C. S. is the *disparager* of the free blacks.
9. The A. C. S. *prevents* the instruction of the blacks.
10. The A. C. S. *deceives and misleads* the nation.

Then follow seventy-six pages containing the sentiments of the people of color who have been collected together for the purpose, in various parts of the country; and have otherwise expressed their views in the *Liberator* and elsewhere; together with much of the author's own views and feelings, in perfect consonance with theirs.

We have neither space nor inclination to give each of these topics the criticism and rebuke they deserve, nor do we deem it important minutely to examine in detail a publication so essentially slanderous in all its parts. Indeed the spirit in which the book is written, as exhibited in the brief extracts already made, will be its own refutation with every candid and liberal mind. The author writes as though goaded by a feeling of malevolence and revenge, which is utterly unaccountable, when the mild and pacific character of this colonization scheme is considered; but which probably arises from his supposed persecutions being attributed by himself and friends to the American Colonization Society, or its prominent patrons, and which supposition of obliquity of principle and morbidity of feeling is no compliment to his intelligence, nor even to his integrity. His attempt to hold the society and its objects accountable for every thing that has been said by slave holders and others in their pamphlets, tracts, speeches, and other publications, is neither just nor liberal, nor is the insertion of detached sentences, from such documents, consistent with moral honesty, particularly when it is found that the book is more than half filled with such perversions of what their authors said, from the meaning distinctly recognized in the documents from which they have been taken. This is eminently the case with most of the extracts from the society's reports and periodical.

It is fit that this Mr. Garrison should see how he will stand before the public by a few extracts from his own words, promiscuously chosen.

Speaking of *himself* and his book, he says thus, 'To rebuke great and good men, is the highest effort of *moral courage*!' p. 6. 'I should oppose this society, even were its doctrines *harmless*!' p. 18. 'Should the *slave holders* become instantly metamorphosed into *angels*, they would still hold the rational creatures of God as their property, and yet *commit no sin*.' p. 92. 'Many of the *colored* people, I *proudly* rank among my *most familiar* friends.' p. 131. 'Some of the *finest men* I met with, during a residence in London and Paris, were the offspring of *African mothers*. I have repeatedly seen *black gentlemen* sitting on the sofas conversing with the *white ladies*—and there were no persons present who appeared more respectable, or who were more respected.' p. 45.

Without multiplying these extracts, sufficient has been said to show Mr. Garrison the iniquity and illiberality of his crusade against the American Colonization Society; and if he object to these precious morceaus of his book, let him remember that he himself has set the example by his garbled perversion of language and sentiment in the extracts he has made from published documents, and that his 'rule should work both ways.' And he will also recollect that many of his remarks on the amalgamation of Africans with the whites, which seems with him not only admissible, but desirable and essential to his favorite scheme of immediate abolition, are too obscene to permit the pollution of our pages, either with their sentiment or language.

For ourselves, much as we condemn the design, character, and tendency of his whole book, there is no part of it more disgraceful to himself, nor more offensive to the true friends of emancipation and abolition, than the avowal expressed in so many forms, that he expects and demands an *amalgamation* of the American and *African races*, as an essential feature of his scheme. This he has before taught in the *Liberator*, and for this the free colored people, who are his '*most familiar friends*,' highly applaud his liberality of sentiment, and patronize his paper because it aims at this noble and praiseworthy result! If Mr. Garrison would consent to take to himself an *African wife*, or betroth his daughters to the 'black gentlemen who sit on the sofas conversing with white ladies,' we apprehend he will find few even among the enemies of the Colonization Society who are such thorough-going abolitionists as himself. The idea is as absurd and visionary, as it is wicked in itself, and the hopelessness of such a project is as manifest as the laws of nature, and the author of such a proposition, if it were feasible, would deserve and receive the execration of his species. As it is, however, the proposition demands for its author our commiseration rather than our censures, and his appeal in confirmation of his views, to the iniquitous and abominable licentiousness of southern libertines, is too shocking to receive or require refutation, and we may say after all he has ever written on this topic,

'It is a monster of such hideous mien,

That to be hated, needs but to be seen.'

We have thus devoted a much larger space to this mischievous production than we designed, but when it is remembered that this is the

boasted effort of a man who, although of our own color, professes to be the champion of the African race in this country, and is aimed at the foundation and character of the noblest charity now in existence in any country ; we deem it proper to give this early notice of the publication and its author, especially as the whole is presented to the public under a garb of sanctity broader than the phylacteries of the ancient Pharisees ; and a profession of reverence for humanity, justice, and truth, which may gain for it access to many who would otherwise be in no danger from its cunning and vulgar sophistry.

We believe that the American Colonization Society offers the only and last hope for the regeneration of bleeding Africa, and doubt not but God in his providence and grace designs, by means of its operations, to civilize and Christianize that vast continent. In common with other evangelical denominations, our Church has commenced the work to which even Mr. Garrison does not object. One missionary of the cross has already sailed, and two others are preparing to embark for the colony, and with the Christian band already there, they purpose to devote their lives to the great work of dispensing the light and power of the Gospel to the tribes in the interior, to whom the colony has already opened a great and effectual door. And although not sanguine that all the wishes of the friends of the children of Africa in our country, who conduct the operations of the society, will be speedily accomplished ; yet we believe much *will be done*, and all that *can be done* for their emancipation, and that in a very few years the accursed slave trade on the coast of Africa will be for ever abolished by means of the colony. And experience has demonstrated that more has been done toward preparing the way for freeing the blacks of our land, by this reviled colonization scheme, than has ever been effected by all the abolition societies, or ever will be done by all the 'Liberators' in the country. Let the philanthropists of America only combine their energies, in the north and in the south, in the east and in the west, in favor of the colony, and a few years will wipe off the slanders of all its enemies, and write the epitaph of Mr. Garrison and his book. God almighty will put his seal upon the society and its operations, and our country shall yet be disenthralled, and Africa's sons shall yet be free and independent in their own land.

LUTHER'S TABLE TALK.

How much the world is indebted, under the blessing of God, to Luther, who can tell ? Little did he think, when he began to oppose the decrees of the pope in respect to the sale of indulgences, what a mighty work he was commencing. Nor did the veneration which he felt for his holiness prevent him from persevering in his attempts to correct the abuses which he saw every where existing, though he seemed little conscious at the time that he was undermining the foundation of the papal hierarchy. From such small beginnings do great events date their origin.

Having, however, launched forth into the sea of reformation, he fearlessly buffeted the waves and billows, until he had the satisfaction to witness his trembling bark moored in a safe and secure harbor. Here, secluded from the tempests which were raging about him, he could converse with his friends in tranquillity. Among other conversations with which the pages of his history abound, we select the following, in which we behold the same bold sentiments and ardent feelings of mind, by which this servant of God was ever distinguished, as well as the same abhorrence of the pope and his adherents with which Luther became inspired when he first clearly and fully saw into the true character of that lordly prelate.

‘God,’ said Luther, ‘could be exceeding rich in money and in temporary wealth, if He pleased ; but He will not. If He were but to come to the pope, to the emperor, to a king, a prince, a bishop, to a rich merchant, a citizen, or a farmer, and were to say, “Except thou givest me a hundred thousand crowns, thou shalt die this instant,”—then every one would presently say, “I will give it with all my heart, if I may but live.” But now we are such unthankful slovens that we give Him not so much as a *Deo gratias*, although we receive from Him richly, and overflowing, so great benefits, merely out of His goodness and mercy. Is not this a shame ? Yet, notwithstanding such our unthankfulness, our Lord God and merciful Father doth not suffer Himself thereby to be scared away, but continually doth show to us all manner of goodness. But,’ said Luther, ‘if, in His gifts and benefits, He were more sparing, and in imparting the same to us were more close-handed, then might we learn to be thankful. If, for example, He caused every human creature to be born into the world with only one leg or foot, and seven years afterward gave him the other leg ; or, in the fourteenth year gave one of the hands, and in the twentieth the other, then we should better acknowledge God’s gifts and benefits ; we should then also value them at a higher rate, and be thankful to almighty God for the same. But now, since God heaps upon us these and the like His blessings, we never regard the same, nor show ourselves thankful to Him.’

‘Then again,’ said Luther, ‘God hath given to us in these days a whole sea full of His word ; He giveth unto us all manner of language, and good, free, liberal arts : we buy, at this time, for a small price, all manner and sorts of good books ; moreover, He giveth unto us learned people, that do teach well and orderly, insomuch that a young youth (if he be not altogether a dunce) may learn and study more in one year now, than formerly in many years. Arts are now so cheap that they almost go begging for bread. Wo be to us,’ said Luther, ‘that we are so lazy and improvident, so negligent and unthankful. But God, I fear, will shut up his liberal hand and mercy again, and will give unto us sparingly enough, so that we shall have again sects, schisms, preachers of lies, and scoffers of God, and then we shall adore and carry them upon our hands, seeing that now we do condemn His word and servants.’

‘The greater God’s corporeal gifts and wondrous works are, the

less,' said Luther, 'they are regarded. The greatest and most precious treasure of this kind that we receive of God is, that we can speak, hear, see, &c. Yet who is there that feels these to be God's gifts, or gives Him thanks for them? Men value such things as wealth, honor, power, and other things of less worth: but what costly things can they be that so soon vanish away? A blind man (if he be in his right wits) would willingly miss of all these, if he might but see. The reason,' said Luther, 'why the corporeal gifts of God are so much undervalued, is this, that they are so common, and God bestows them on the senseless beasts, as well as upon us people, and often in greater perfection. But what shall I say? Christ made the blind to see. He drove out devils, raised the dead, &c, yet must he be upbraided by the ungodly hypocrites who gave themselves out for God's people, and must hear from them that He was a Samaritan, and had a devil. Ah!' said Luther, 'the world is the devil's, wheresoever it be. How then can it acknowledge God's gifts and benefits? It is with God almighty, as it is with parents and their children which are young: they regard not so much the daily bread, as an apple or a pear, or other toys.'

How to preach before a prince.—'As Dr. Erasmus Albert was called Mark of Bradenburg, he desired Luther to set down a method of preaching before a prince elector. Luther said, "Let all your preaching be in the most simple and plainest manner; look not to the prince, but to the plain, simple, gross, unlearned people, of which cloth the prince also himself is made. If I," said Luther, "in my preaching, should have regard to Philip Melancthon, and other learned doctors, then should I work but little goodness. I preach in the simplest manner to the unskilful, and that giveth content to all. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, I spare, until we learned ones come together; then we make it so curled and finical, that God himself wondereth at us."'

The kingdom of love.—'In ceremonies and ordinances, the kingdom of love must have the precedence and govern, and not tyranny. It must be a willing love, not a halter love; it must be altogether directed and managed for the good and profit of one's neighbor; and the greater he is that doth govern,' said Luther, 'the more he ought to serve according to love.'

How necessary patience is.—'I,' said Luther, 'must be patient with the pope; I must have patience with heretics and seducers; I must have patience with the roaring courtiers; I must have patience with my servants; I must have patience with Kate, my wife: to conclude, the patiences are so many, that my whole life is nothing but patience.'

MOUNT ETNA.

THIS famous mountain has been often described by adventurous and scientific travellers. It is situated on the eastern side of Sicily.

Various conjectures have been formed respecting the etymology of the name Etna. It being usually written in the Itineraries, *Ethana*, some have traced its origin from *αιθων*, which signifies to *burn*, and others from *אתונה*, (*athuna*), a *furnace*; either of which seems to be a very probable derivation, when it is considered that this mountain

so much resembles a furnace, by its perpetual burning, and so often sends forth its streams of burning lava.

Its immense size and elevation, the beauty and magnificence of the surrounding scenery, and the terrific grandeur of its convulsive struggles when trembling under its internal efforts to throw out its burning entrails, as well as the changes it has undergone, have afforded abundant matter for the pen of the poet and the historian. According to the mythology of the ancient heathen, here were erected the forges of the Cyclops, where, under the direction of Vulcan, they prepared the thunderbolts of Jupiter. A temple was built here for Vulcan himself, in which the fire never ceased to burn; and here the giant Enceladus was condemned by Jupiter to expiate his impious rebellion by perpetual imprisonment.

The distance from near the city of Catania, which is situated on the south side of the mountain, to the mouth of the great crater, is said to be about thirty miles. Its height from the level of the sea is about eleven thousand feet, and its circumference at its base sixty-two miles. Its first eruption on record is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, but he does not fix the period; the second, recorded by Thucydides, was in the year 784 B. C. Since that period there have been thirty-four, one of which lasted fourteen years; and the one in 1763, which was attended with an earthquake, overturned the town of Catania, and buried eighteen thousand persons in its ruins.

This astonishing mountain has often been ascended by scientific and enterprising travellers, though the ascent is fatiguing and attended with some danger. The following account of a recent visit to the top of Etna we have copied from the *New-York Messenger* :—

‘Some travellers who have recently been to the top of Etna, have given one of the most graphic descriptions of the scene that we have ever read. The same immense mountain, that has been ever since the memory of man alternately the funeral pile of cities, and the awful beacon of the world, still rolls its volumes of vapor to heaven, and still throbs with internal agony, or growls in hoarse thunders through its infernal caverns. Say the travellers :—

At length, after somewhat more than an hour’s walk, the most harassing that can be imagined, we arrived at the top just as the day began to dawn. To paint the feelings at this dizzy height, requires the pen of poetic inspiration; or to describe the scene presented to mortal gaze, when thus looking down with fearful eye on the almost boundless prospect beneath! The blue expanded ocean, fields, woods, cities, rivers, mountains, and all the wonted charms of the terrestrial world, had a magic effect, when viewed by the help of the nascent light; while hard by yawned that dreadful crater of centuries untold, evolving thick sulphurous clouds of white smoke, which, rolling down the mountain’s side in terrific grandeur, at length formed one vast column for many miles in extent across the sky. Anon the mountain growled awfully in its inmost recesses, and the earth was slightly convulsed! We now attempted to descend a short distance within the crater; the guides, timid of its horrors, did not relish the undertaking, but were induced at length, and conducted the party

behind some heaps of lava, from whence was a grand view of this awful cavern. The noise within the gulf resembled loud continuous thunders, and after each successive explosion, there issued columns of white, and sometimes of black smoke.

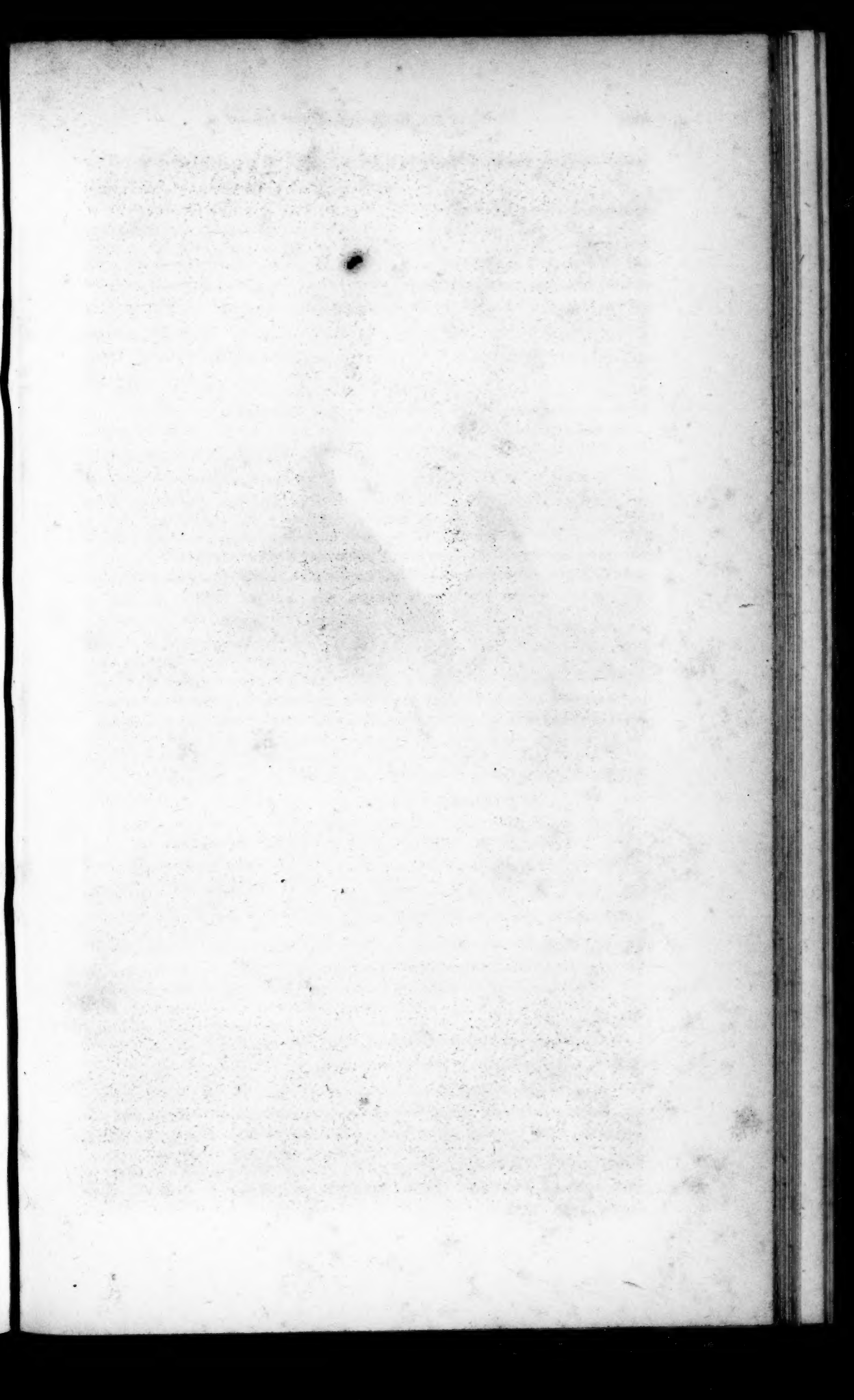
Our senses were entranced for a while, unused to such an awful display of nature, in this one of her wildest abodes. On our exit from the crater, the glorious god of day was beginning to peep from behind the mountains of Calabria, and the wondrous vision, hitherto undefined and vague, was soon spread out distinctly to the admiring eye. What hand could paint, what tongue express, or pen transcribe, the transcendently glorious scene? As he advanced in his golden path, the whole of Sicily, the coast of Italy, and the Faro of Messina, seemed gathered round the base of Etna; while the giant shade of the mountain could be distinctly traced on the face of the island, and even over a portion of the sea. Every city, every river in all its windings, was depicted on this mighty map of nature.

To many, the most interesting part of the view is the mountain itself. The Regione Deserta, or desolate region of Etna, first attracts the eye, marked in winter by a circle of ice and snow, but now (July) by cinders and black sand. In the midst the great crater rears its burning head, and the regions of intense heat and extreme cold shake hands together. The eye soon becomes satiated with its wildness, and turns with delight on the Sylvana region, which, with its magnificent zone of forest trees, embraces the mountain completely round: in many parts of this delightful tract are seen hills, now covered with the most luxuriant vegetation, that have been formed by different eruptions of Etna. This girdle is succeeded by another still richer, called the Regione Culta, abundant in every fruit or grain that man can desire; the small rivers Semetus and Alcantara intersect these fertile fields; beyond this the whole of Sicily, with its cities, towns, and villages, its corn fields and vineyards in almost endless perspectives, charm and delight the senses. There was a certain degree of dread, mingled with intense delight, when thus elevated above the nether world. It was impossible to forget that we were standing on the bank of that horrid gulf, out of which had issued a thousand lavas, spreading desolation and death in their pestiferous course, changing the whole face of the country, and burying towns and villages beneath them.

DEATH OF THE REV. DR. ADAM CLARKE.

PERHAPS it might be expected by our readers that some account of the life and death of this venerated servant of God should be given in this number. The editor, indeed, had some thoughts of printing the discourse on the death of Dr. Clarke in the present number, but has declined to do so for two reasons:—

1. The pages of this number were nearly filled before that discourse was prepared.
2. Notwithstanding much pains were taken to collect authentic information, it is highly probable that some of the facts are incorrectly detailed; and as it is very desirable that whatever is recorded here of him should be in all respects accurate, and as it is expected that an authentic biography of Dr. Clarke will soon be issued from the press, it was concluded most prudent to wait until that shall make its appearance, the substance of which can then very properly be given in a subsequent number.





REV. HENRY HOLMES,

of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Engraved by J.B. Longacre from an original drawing.

